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THE PATIENCE OF UNANSWERED PRAYER

When invited by the editor to contribute this article on "The Patience of Unanswered Prayer," my mind turned at once to two incidents in the life of two missionary leaders in Egypt. A few years before his death Temple Gairdner said to me one day, "As I look back over my life in Egypt I feel I have accomplished nothing." The other incident was related to me recently by an Egyptian friend. He told how one of the saintliest of C.M.S. doctors, speaking with deep emotion, said to him, "I feel my work in Egypt has been nothing but a failure." How aptly these two confessions reflect the experience of the Christian worker in Moslem lands.

And yet, who can measure the influence of Temple Gairdner's life on successive generations of University students as they read Miss Padwick's vivid biography, quite apart from the mark he left on the Christian Church in the land of his adoption? And what village is there in Egypt that does not know the name of "Harmel," that honoured and respected medical centre in Old Cairo, whose present extensive development is built upon the foundations so ably laid by Dr. Harpur? The measure of success of a missionary career in this area cannot be reckoned in terms of statistics, or of visible results that catch the eye. It can be reckoned only in terms of the life poured out, in terms of those intangible things of the spirit which so easily evade our notice.

In his new book on "Evangelism Today" Dr. Zwemer reminds us "The love that will not let men go and the patience of unanswered prayer—these are two indispensable factors in evangelism." Every missionary amongst Moslems will endorse this conviction. Each day of his life is a challenge to love and to prayer. There are so many experiences that kill love and sympathy, so many that drain the resources of spiritual power. Here there is no encouragement of a rapidly growing Church, no stimulus from the sight of innumerable enquirers pouring in for instruction. There seems to be little in the environment save the denial by life and word of those values for which the name of Christ stands.

Perhaps we should not be surprised that in course of time the lack of response to the Christian message sows a doubt in the mind of many a missionary whether it is right to work for conversions and

baptisms, while the lapse of a convert or two makes him wonder whether any conversions are really genuine. The absence of a stimulating spiritual environment affects the quality of the missionary's own life and sometimes leads to a divisive attitude in his relations with other Christian workers. Some in time give up, and others return home in broken health. If the spiritual gifts of patience, love, courage, faith and vision are needed in other areas, they are needed ten times more here.

Coupled with a sense of urgency on his own part to be faithful in his witness, the missionary needs also to recover the assurance of the patient and untiring work of the divine Spirit in the hearts of men. "God is working His purposes out as year succeeds to year." With Him "a thousand years are but as one day." Occasionally He lifts the veil for us and we catch a glimpse of how those purposes are being accomplished. Here and there a subtle change in the outlook of a nation may be noted, a new sense of Christian values in public life, a change in Moslem propaganda to square with the standards of Western science and Christian thought, a secret acceptance of salvation through Christ which is not openly confessed through fear of reprisals. The long course of history will one day reveal the stupendous consequences of mental and spiritual changes whose beginnings seem to our generation to be unimportant and insignificant.

No one, however, can deny that the rate of progress is slow, and there are many adversaries. Some of the obstacles in the way of Christ's coming in the hearts of men may lie within us—in our lack of faith, our lack of love, our lack of patience, our lack of prayer. Other obstacles may be raised by our faulty methods of approach, born of intellectual laziness or prejudice or lack of imagination. Or again, we may be tempted to find a substitute for the main task, to put institutional efficiency before brotherly kindness, to become absorbed in school or hospital and forget the personal factor, to strive for the intellectual, social, medical and economic uplift of the community and neglect the spiritual, or to turn aside to the needs of the ancient Churches and leave undone the difficult and exacting task of witnessing to the Moslem. Not that all these other activities are not important, nay essential—they are, but only in their right place and in their right setting.

The other external obstacles, inherent in the nature of the task, have been analysed so often that there is no necessity to record them here. The special tenets of Islam and its denial of religious freedom create peculiar difficulties. But who can foretell what changes there may be in the future—perhaps the not very distant future—though the signs of such changes are so few, in our eyes, today? Not many in Turkey in 1909 could have foretold the course the country would

take in 1920. Most would have considered such a forecast pure romancing. Few of the missionaries in China before the Boxer Riots could have foreseen their consequences in the decades immediately following. It behooves us to be ready at all times for the unexpected.

But there may be also, as some have suggested, a very good reason why the purposes of God are so slow of accomplishment in Moslem lands. Has the Church ever faced seriously and constructively the challenge to Christian thought and life of Moslem theology and the highest elements of Moslem ethics? Perhaps it is God's will that we must first explore still more deeply the resources of our own faith, and then we shall be prepared to face the Moslem problem. On one point there can be no doubt—the ultimate victory can only be spiritual. And here we have the encouragement of that great cloud of witnesses who have prepared the way for us, their successors. "God had something better in store for us; He would not have them perfected apart from us."

The longer a missionary remains in this area the more convinced he becomes of the truth of those words of Temple Gairdner, written after his second year of service in Cairo, "For me the die has been cast: the only way to peace and that self-realisation which is indeed Salvation is, for me, the way of spirituality. God has shown me this and has closed every other path. Only sometimes, in the weakness of the spirit, the heart looks wistfully back at some of those closed avenues, which one sees other men treading, and whispers, 'you have aimed too high, and may miss all; aim lower, and you will at least attain something.' It cannot be, it cannot be. 'Onward to the starry track, glimmering up the heights beyond me, on and ever on.' "

In the closing sentences of the biography of his friend and colleague, Douglas Thornton, Temple Gairdner quoted the verse, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." This was the same verse that was chosen at Gairdner's death to recall the outpouring of his life in love and prayer. It is this spirit of unmeasured sacrifice offered in humble faith to God, and fortified by the prayer that persists even when its answer is not immediately given, that alone can triumph in Moslem work, and issue in commensurate spiritual results. The love that will not let men go, and the patience of unanswered prayer have their roots deep in an unconquerable faith in the boundless love and sovereign purposes of God Himself.

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POSTSCRIPT ON THE SEVEN THOUSAND

And we add, many of those who knew and loved Temple Gaird-

ner and knew his intellectual and spiritual gifts, especially the patience of his unanswered prayer, will recall a passage in F. W. Robertson's famous sermon on *Elijah* (Oct. 13, 1850):

"Distinguish, therefore, between the Real and the Apparent. Elijah's apparent success was in the shouts at Mount Carmel. His real success was in the unostentatious, unsurmised obedience of the seven thousand who had taken his God for their God.

"A lesson for all. For teachers who lay their heads down at night sickening over their thankless task. Remember the power of *indirect* influences: those which distil from a life, not from a sudden, brilliant effort. The former never fail: the latter often. There is good done of which we can never predicate the when or where. Not in the flushing of a pupil's cheek: or the glistening of an attentive eye: not in the shining results of an examination does your real success lie. It lies in that invisible influence on character which He alone can read who counted the seven thousand nameless ones in Israel.

"For ministers again—what is ministerial success? Crowded churches—full aisles—attentive congregations—the approval of the religious world—much impression produced? Elijah thought so: and when he found out his mistake, and discovered that the applause on Carmel subsided into hideous stillness, his heart well-nigh broke with disappointment. Ministerial success lies in altered lives and obedient humble hearts: unseen work recognised in the judgment-day.

"Get below appearances, below glitter and show. Plant your foot upon reality. Not in the jubilee of the myriads on Carmel, but in the humble silence of the hearts of the seven thousand, lay the proof that Elijah had not lived in vain."—Ed.

+ MIGUEL ASIN +

The last number of the journal *al-Andalus* to reach this country contains a lengthy obituary notice of the great Spanish Islamic scholar Don Miguel Asin, who died in his seventy-fourth year in the summer of 1944, just when preparations were being made for a splendid jubilee celebration to mark his coming seventy-fifth birthday. The obituary was written by his pupil and colleague Emilio Garcia Gomez, who was very closely associated with him during his later years. Fortunately arrangements had already been made for the Madrid School of Arabic and Islamic Studies, which has major responsibility for the publication of *al-Andalus,* to be called the Istituto Miguel Asin, so that his name will in that way be perpetuated in the centre where he worked for so many years and found his life's interest. He has been for long so outstanding a figure in the area of studies that interests readers of the MOSLEM WORLD that it is only fitting that some account of his life and labours should appear in our pages.

Though Miguel Asin was a priest in the Spanish Roman Catholic Church he had no ecclesiastical career, and seems to have exercised his sacerdotal functions to only a very limited degree, his whole active life having been devoted to Oriental studies, first at Saragossa and later at Madrid. His was a life of scholarship interrupted only by the years of enforced idleness during the Spanish Civil War, which cut him off from his books, his students and his colleagues, and during which he taught Latin to children in a Secondary School in the place of his enforced exile.

He was born at Saragossa in July 1871, the second son of a modest tradesman's family of Aragonese descent. While he was but a child his father died from an inflammation of the lungs caught while out riding, and his mother, Filomena Palacios, was left with two young sons and a daughter, for whose education her modest resources were quite insufficient. Had it not been for the kindness and compassion of a neighbor of some means the young Miguel might have had to turn to labour without any more than an elementary education. As it was, however, he was enabled to take his secondary studies, beginning them in the local School of the Escolapios and finishing them under the Jesuits of the city. He took his Baccalaureate in the classical group of Mathematics and Latin, and as he was good at Mathematics he had at first the idea that he might go on to study Engineering as a profession. The modest resources of the family, however, did not permit of a career that meant attendance at a University outside Saragossa, so he matriculated in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the local University, and at the same time entered as an "ex-

terno," i.e., non-resident student, at the Conciliar Seminary of the town. Just why he suddenly decided to embrace the ecclesiastical life we do not know. He seems to have passed through no spiritual crisis at the time, and though his later studies show that he had a profound understanding of the spiritual life, such as enabled him to enter appreciatively into the religious experience that underlay much of the teaching of the Sufi writers, his decision to enter the religious life at this time seems, so far as we can see, not to have been the outcome of any long and laborious process of introspection and self-examination. Family pressure may have had something to do with it, as in so many other well-known cases, but we do not know. However, he went through the Seminary, and recited his first Mass in 1895.

The great event of his University career was his contact with Julian Ribera y Tarrago, who from 1882 to 1885 had been collaborating at Madrid with the great Francisco Codera, and who in 1887 had come to Saragossa to occupy the Chair of Arabic Language and Literature. Ribera was a many-sided scholar, who, besides being an indefatigable worker, was a good teacher who stirred great enthusiasm among his students. Asin early came under his influence and was thus led to devote himself to Arabic and Islamic studies. Their intimacy, indeed, was such that after he had finished his courses at the Seminary and the University, Asin lived more in the home of Ribera than he did in his own, was his collaborator in many of the scholarly projects he initiated, accompanied him to the Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in 1908, was sponsored by him at his reception into the Spanish Academy in 1919, and in many ways was almost another son to him. It may be suspected that when the Chair of Arabic at Saragossa was abolished as part of a sweeping reform in the educational courses in that seat of learning and Ribera as a result was left without a teaching post, Asin, who by that time was established in Madrid, was not inactive in the movement that led to Ribera being invited in 1905 to occupy a Chair of Jewish and Muhammadan Civilization at Madrid, a post which in 1913 was changed to that which exists there at present, the Chair of Hispano-Arabic Literature.

Asin was specially fortunate in this early contact with Ribera, for with such a master, engaged in such a multiplicity of projects, critical, philological, historical; editing texts, critically reviewing the Arabic works continually appearing from the printing presses of the Near East, delving into the early history of the Arab period of Spanish history and the influences of this on various aspects of Hispanic culture—all this provided invaluable training for the young scholar in fields that he would probably never have had occasion to touch in the ordinary course of academic life. It was the other side of his training, however, that in the theological disciplines, which decided the

particular aspect of Arabic and Islamic studies that would be his main field of research through his long life of scholarly activity.

After a year of advanced study in Madrid under Codera, Asin appeared for his Doctoral examination in the Faculty of Letters in 1896, defending a Thesis on al-Ghazzālī, which appeared in 1901 as a volume, *Algazel, dogmatica, moral y ascetica.* His Doctoral examination was passed *maxima cum laude,* and it is interesting to note that one of his examiners was Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, who formed a warm friendship with the young scholar and contributed the Preface to his *Algazel* when it was published five years later. It is noteworthy that Asin's first study on the famous Murcian Sufi Ibn 'Arabī was the paper entitled *Mohidin,* which he contributed to the Festschrift presented to this scholar in 1899, *Homenaje a Menendez y Pelayo en el año vigesimo de su profesorado.*

With Ghazzālī and Ibn 'Arabī we find him well set on the path that was to be his main interest of research throughout the long years of his scholarly labours, and though his contributions to other fields of study were, as we shall see, not inconsiderable, his fame will always rest on his contributions to the understanding of Sufism, the mystical philosophy of Islam. Not all his material in this field had been published at the time of his death, and it is much to be hoped that the Institute at Madrid, where his papers lie, will be able to make available at least some of this in the near future.

It would seem that he had had hopes, soon after taking his Doctorate, of being called to the Chair of Arabic in the University of Seville, but this appointment went to Cardenas, whereat the Archbishop of Saragossa decided to appoint Asin to the charge of a rural parish. This would probably have meant the end of any hopes of an academic career, and it took all the efforts of some of his influential friends to save him from the ecclesiastical appointment, while the generosity and disinterested kindness of his two masters, Ribera and Codera, made possible an academic appointment for him. Codera, on his own initiative, retired on a pension, vacating his Chair at Madrid, and Ribera, who might have succeeded him there, not knowing then that his own Chair at Saragossa was so soon to be eliminated, elected to stay on in the provinces. So in 1902 Asin, in the very year in which his mother, with whom he had been living, died of cancer, prepared his candidacy, and in 1903 was appointed to the Chair of Arabic at Madrid, to carry on the splendid succession of Gayangos, the historian of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Spain, and Codera, the moving spirit behind the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana.*

In those early years at Madrid he seems to have lived as close to Codera as he had to Ribera at Saragossa, and in that intimacy to have come into close contact with the brilliant intellectual circle

attracted to Codera's home in the capital. When in 1904 a Festschrift was presented to Codera, Asin contributed to this *Homenaje a Don Francisco Codera,* a paper that was to open up another field where his name will ever be remembered. This monograph was on the "Theological Averroism of Thomas Aquinas," and following up two earlier studies on Thomism, suggested the most unorthodox idea that Thomas Aquinas in the formulation of his famous system was not uninfluenced by the writings of the Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd, who had died in Morocco at the very end of the twelfth century and whose thought had been much discussed in Spain.

Two other famous essays of his were also published for special occasions. In October 1912 he was elected to the seat in the Royal Academy of Moral and Political Sciences vacated by Menendez y Pelayo, and as his inauguration address presented his study on Ibn Masarra entitled "Ibn Masarra and his School; the Origins of the Hispano-Muslim Philosophy," a study which E. G. Gomez thinks was suggested by a passage in Ignaz Goldziher's work on Ibn Tumart, where the Hungarian scholar remarks that if someone were to gather up the polemical passages directed against the Masarrites by their opponents it might be possible to gather therefrom enough to get a picture of the teaching of this remarkable attempt to fuse the Plotinian system of the Pseudo-Empedocles with Mu'tazilite, Shi'ite and Sufi ideas that had developed in Islam. As the thought of Ibn Masarra seems to have left its impress not only on Muslim thought, through Ibn al-'Arīf and Ibn 'Arabī, but also on the Jewish philosopher Solomon ibn Gagirol (Avicebron), and on the Christian pre-Thomists, as well as on the thought of Bacon and Raymund Lull, this essay has been one of the most widely useful of all that Asin has produced. Then in 1919 when he was elected a member of the Royal Spanish Academy, taking the seat vacated by Enrique de Saavedra, he delivered for his inauguration his even more famous essay on *La Escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia,* the most widely discussed of all his works, in which he indicated the extraordinary number of details in the scheme of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise in Dante's immortal poem, which can be paralleled in the classical works of Muhammadan eschatology earlier than Dante's day. It is often forgotten that besides being the work that opened up anew a fascinating area of research in Dante studies, this essay is also unique in the way in which it has assembled material for the study of that much neglected field of Islamic studies, viz., Muslim eschatology.

Miguel Asin's more specifically Christian studies were not numerous, and such as there are grew for the most part out of his Oriental interests. The best known of them is undoubtedly his *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, asceticos praesertim,*

usitata, which the Abbé Nau persuaded him to compile for the *Patrologia Orientalis,* where they appeared in vols. XIII and XIX (1916 and 1926). This subject he again took up in his contribution to the Festschrift presented to E. G. Browne of Cambridge in 1922, "Influences from the Gospels on the religious literature of Islam," and to which he published a further little-known body of "Animadversiones" in the *Revue Biblique* in 1927. Another little-known article of his on a somewhat similar theme is that on "The Influence of the Church on the Life and Doctrine of the Islamic World," which appeared in the supplementary number of *El Debate* in February 1934. In his *Logia et Agrapha* he assembled a not inconsiderable body of sayings attributed to Jesus which are found scattered through Muslim religious literature, and more particularly the literature of Sufism. Some day some scholar is going to carry this study further and prepare a complete picture of the Prophet 'Isa as he appears in the literature of Islam, and that picture, when complete, will astonish many people, Muslims as well as Christians. Also for Nau he published in 1906 in the *Revue de l'Orient chrétien,* a study of the Christian Arab poet 'Isa al-Hazār, a manuscript of whose work he found in Codera's library; and in the same review for 1908 he published *Une vie abrégée de Sainte Marine.* His Thomist studies we have already mentioned. The year before his famous essay on the Averroism of Aquinas he had published two papers in the *Revista de Aragon,* one on "La Exegetica de Santo Tomas," and the other on the Neo-Thomism of Leo XIII as this had been judged by the President of the American Philosophical Association. In the second volume of the *Mélanges Mandonnet* in 1930 he carried these studies a step further, in a paper on "An unexplored Aspect of the Origins of the Scholastic Theology." The thought of Raymund Lull occupied him in papers in *Cultura Española* for 1906 on "El lulismo exagerado." Perhaps here also should be mentioned two studies on Muslim polemic, one on the anti-Christian polemic of Muḥammad al-Qaisi, published in the *Revue Hispanique* in 1909, and one on a Moorish polemical tractate against the Jews, published in the *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* for the same year.

As we turn to philosophy we come nearer his own particular interests. He wrote no large work on any of the Arabian philosophers save Ghazzālī, but contributed a number of important articles. Ibn Bajjah (Avempace) was from his own town of Saragossa, and to him he devoted a number of studies, beginning with "El filosofo zaragozano Avempace" in the *Revista de Aragon* for 1900, and following this with special studies in *al-Andalus,* such as "Avempace, botanico" in 1940, "Tratado de Avempace sobre la union del intelleto con el hombre" in 1942, and "La Carta de Adios de Avempace" in 1943.

In the same journal in 1942 he also published a curious study of a text of Al-Fārābī which had been attributed to Ibn Bajjah by Moses of Narbonne. In the *Revista de Aragon* he published studies on "The Psychology of Belief according to Ghazzālī" (1902), and an interesting "Draft of a Dictionary of the Technical Terms of Muslim Theology and Philosophy" (1903), besides an essay in 1904, on the "origin and character of the Almohade Revolution," based on Goldziher's Ibn Tumart. In 1909 in the *Revue Tunisienne* he had published a study of the "Logic" of Ibn Tumlus of Alcira, and in 1916 issued the complete Arabic text of this work with a Spanish translation. Before coming to his more imposing works we may note his papers on Jāḥiẓ' Book of Animals (1930), the Abecedario of Yūsuf of Malaga (1932), on a Muslim compendium of Pedagogy (1924), an essay in *El Debate* for 1929 entitled "Sintesis de la filosofia hispano-musulmana," and two papers in *al-Andalus,* "The Thesis of the Necessity for Revelation in Islam and in Scholasticism" (1935), and "Ibn al-Sid de Badajoz y su Libro de los Cercos" (1940).

One special branch of Asin's interest in the philosophical writers of Islam was that devoted to the Spanish Muslim Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova, who, even though his importance may have been overemphasized by certain modern writers, nevertheless was a very distinguished person in his world. In 1907 in *Cultura Española* he published an essay on "The religious Indifference in Muslim Spain according to Ibn Ḥazm," which drew on his first examination of the great *Book of Religions and Sects.* Two years later in the same review he studied "La moral gnomica de Abenhazm," and then in 1916 he issued the translation of one of Ibn Ḥazm's tractates on practical ethics under the title *Los Caracteres y la conducta.* At his reception into the Royal Academy of History in 1924 he read as his inaugural, "The Cordovan Ibn Ḥazm, first historian of religious Ideas," a paper which perhaps is the origin of the quite erroneous idea found in several modern works that Ibn Ḥazm may be regarded as the founder of the study of Comparative Religion. A further contribution along the same lines was his essay in the *Revista de Archivos* for 1927 on "Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova and the critical history of Religious Ideas," the continuation of which appeared in the years 1928, 1929, 1931 and 1932. In 1930 appeared in the *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* his summary of the dogmatic theology of Ibn Ḥaza. Finally in 1934 in *al-Andalus* he discussed a new Codex of some of the works of Ibn Ḥazm that had come to light in Spain.

To come now to his favourite realm of Sufism, we may mention a few small things before detailing his work on the two great figures Ibn 'Arabī and al-Ghazzālī. In *Cultura Española* for 1906 he published an essay on the "Psychology of Ecstasy in two great Muslim

Mystics," which discussed the views of both Ibn 'Arabī and Ghazzālī on this question, but which was really of much wider range and of interest for the history of Sufism in general. A similar essay of more general import was his contribution "Une introduction musulmane à la vie spirituelle" in the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* for 1923. In 1931 in the *Boletin* of the University of Madrid we have from his pen a sketch of "The Mystic Abū'l-'Abbās ibn al-'Arīf of Almeria and his Maḥāsin al-Machālis," and in *al-Andalus* for 1933 he wrote his now celebrated article on the Hispano-Muslim precursor of St. John of the Cross.

As early as 1899 we have already seen him occupied with Muḥyi'd-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, but it was not till 1906 that he published his first book on him, *La Psicologia segun Mohidin Abenarabi,* this being in reality an expanded form of the paper he had read at the International Congress of Orientalists at Algiers in 1905. His big work on Ibn 'Arabī, however, *El mistico murciano Abenarabi: monografias y documentos,* appeared in four parts. Part I, *Autobiografia cronologica* in 1925, was an attempt to settle the skeleton of chronology for his life, and Part II, which appeared the same year, was an examination of the biographical material that could be gleaned from his *Risālat al-Quds.* Part III, in 1926, was a sketch of the general features of his doctrine, and Part IV, in 1928, was on his theology and his system of the cosmos. These studies, however, were really preliminaries to his great volume, published in 1931, *Islam Christianized: a Study of Sufism as expressed in the works of Ibn 'Arabī of Murcia,* in which he very definitely ranges himself on the side of those scholars who look on Sufism as the result of a set of Christian mystical ideas working within Islam. That same year in the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* he wrote "De la Mystique d'Abenarabi: les états, les demeures et les charismes." In 1933 he published Ibn 'Arabī 's *Risālat al-Quds* under the title *Vidas de Santones andaluces,* with a continuation in 1939.

Of his Ghazzālī studies we have already mentioned his Doctoral Thesis and his essay on the Ghazzalian doctrine of the psychology of belief. An attempt at a general statement of al-Ghazzālī's place in Sufism was given in his paper "La Mystique d'Al-Ghazzali" in 1914 in the *Mélanges* of the Oriental Faculty at Beirut, but the search for the *Logia et Agrapha* had led him right through the works of Ghazzālī and given him a leading idea. In 1925 he published a paper on Ghazzālī's theory of the science of Jurisprudence based on an analysis of the introduction to his *al-Mustaṣfa,* and in 1929 he translated his little Compendium of Theology under the title *El justo medio en la creencia,* but it was in 1934 that appeared the first of his four big volumes on *La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano,* where he

continues to develop his thesis as to the development of Sufism. The second and third volumes in 1935 and 1936 continued his exposition, but the fourth volume in 1941 is in the form of a *Crestomatia Algazelaina.* A rather interesting paper in *al-Andalus* for 1936 discusses the theories as to the origin of language and related problems in the works of al-Ghazzālī, Ibn Sīda and Ibn Ḥazm.

Few Arabists escape involvement in one way or another with the Arabic scientific literature, and Asin has some small contributions in this field. We have already mentioned his essay on the botanical lore of Ibn Bajjah, and in 1942, when he presided at the third session of the meetings of the Higher Council for Scientific Investigation at Madrid, he read a paper on "An unknown Arab botanist of Andalus." The following year, before the same organization, he presented a "Glossary of Romance words registered by an anonymous Hispano-Muslim botanist of the XI-XII Century." He was also interested in the problem of the famous Pharos of Alexandria. In 1933 the Duke of Alba presented to the British Academy a summary of his ideas on this problem, and in two articles in *al-Andalus,* in 1933 and 1935 he printed further new material to elucidate this vexed question. Perhaps his articles in 1940 and 1941 entitled "Contributions to the Arab Toponymy of Spain," ought to be included under his scientific contributions.

As a teacher of Arabic he was naturally interested in the language. His very first publication in 1898 was concerned with Portuguese Aljamia texts, and in 1912 he gave an account of the Arabic and Aljamia MSS in the Biblioteca de la Junta, while in the *Homenaje a Menendez Pidal* in 1924 he had a paper on the Arabic original of the Aljamiad novel "El Baño de Zarieb." At various times he published notes on etymologies, and his very last work to be published before his death was a contribution to *al-Andalus* offering numerous emendations to the Arabic etymologies in the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy. For his students he prepared in 1939 a Chrestomathy of literary Arabic with an outline Grammar and Glossary. In a little-known but most interesting article in the *Revue Africaine* he surveyed "L'Enseignement de l'Arabe en Espagne," giving a most illuminating account of the rise and progress of Arabic studies in his own country.

There will probably always be controversy over some of the positions Asin took in the presentation of his results, but there can be no question as to the competence of his scholarship or the stimulating quality of much of his work, which has a lasting value for all who are interested in the study of the religious thought of Islam.

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THE CONCEPTION OF HUMAN DESTINY IN ISLAM

In the judgment of most of the scholars who have hitherto discussed the origin and development of Mohammed's religious thought, the theme of the Prophet's preaching, in his Meccan days at least, was either the unity of God, or the Final Judgment of all mankind; and all of them would concede, I think, that the chief topic of his Meccan revelations, the lesson which he strove to drive home in them by every example from nature and history at his command, was the general Resurrection with its attendant Judgment.[1] What has not been so generally observed and reckoned with, however, is that these awe-inspiring events are but the final scenes in a divinely directed human drama, which is told over and over again in the Koran, in slightly varying versions and with different characters appearing in it from time to time, as in the Book of Judges, and that it is, in fact, this drama which conveys and reveals the message which Mohammed sought to deliver. Like a good preacher, Mohammed has exploited these scenes with their graphic and picturesque details. They had captured his imagination and would move the hearts of his pagan audience. But it is quite clear that he used them, as it were, homiletically, with a view to the spiritual edification of his hearers, or their catharsis, and that the text, which he sought so earnestly and repeatedly to impress thereby upon the minds of his countrymen, was the vanity of the life which they contemplated and cherished, in contrast with the true and divinely planned destiny of man, the knowledge of which had been vouchsafed to him and which he now declared to them.[2]

Mohammed found his countrymen spending their days in a narrow round of hopes and fears, desires and ambitions, with minds closed to any other view of life, or goal of action, than that which their fathers had imagined, and careless of any future save that which this mundane world and its transient pleasures offered. *"They found their fathers erring,"* declares the Prophet in the Koran, Sura xxxvii, 67-70, *"and they hastened in their footsteps.* Also before them the greater number of the ancients had erred, although we had sent warners among them." "And when it is said to them, 'Follow ye what God hath sent down,' they say, *'Nay, that religion in which we found*

[1] Cf., for example, R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, p. 70ff., and Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* (Kyrkohistorisk "Arsskrift, 1923), p. 152. For Koranic Suras cf. xx, 100ff; xxvi, 82; xliv, 9; l, 19ff.; liii, 58; lv, 38; lvi, 1ff.; lxix, 1ff.; lxx, 6; lxxiii, 14, 17; lxxiv, 8ff.; lxxv, 7ff.; lxviii, 17ff.; lxxix, 6; lxxxi, 1ff.; lxxxvi, 9; lxxxix, 22ff.; xcix, 1ff.; ci, 3ff.;

[2] Cf., for example, the general themes of Suras lxxvi, l, lv, xxxii, xlv, xvi; also xxvi, xxiii, xxi, xxxvii, and of the shorter, more staccato Suras, lxxxvi, lxxx, lxxix, lxxv, lxxxiii. On the Resurrection in particular cf. Suras lxxxi, 7; lxx, 10ff.; lxxviii, 39; lxxv, 3ff.; lvi, 47; xxxvii, 16ff.; lxxi, 17; xliv, 31-32, 56; l, 3; xx, 56; xxvii, 68-69; xlv, 24; xvi, 40-41, etc.

our fathers shall we follow' What! though Satan bid them to the torment of the flame?" (Sura xxxi, 20). "Have we ere this given them a Book? and do they still possess it? But say they, *'Verily, we found our fathers of this persuasion, and verily by their footsteps are we guided'*. And thus never before thy time have We sent a warner to any city, but its wealthy ones said, 'Verily we found our fathers with a religion, and in their tracks we tread' " (Sura xliii, 20-22).[3]

The attitude of Mohammed's countrymen had thus its historical parallels. For, as God makes known to the Prophet in Sura xxiii, 34-40, "The chiefs of his (Noah's) people, who believed not, and who deemed the meeting with Us in the life to come to be a lie, and whom We had richly supplied in this present life, said [in their time], 'This [Noah] is but a man like yourselves. He eateth of what ye eat and drinketh of what ye drink. If ye obey a man like yourselves, ye shall surely be undone. What! doth he foretell you, that after ye shall be dead and become dust and bones, ye shall be brought forth? Away with his predictions! *There is no life beyond our present life. We die and we live; and we shall not be quickened again.* This is merely a man who forgeth a lie about God. We shall not believe him.' "

The chiefs of Noah's people are historical phantoms, the ghosts of Mohammed's Meccan opponents, who "mock, *while thou marvellest,* and take no warning, when they are warned, and scoff, when they see a sign, and say: 'This is no other than clear sorcery. What! when dead and turned to dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised? And our sires also of olden times?' " (Sura xxxvii, 12-17). "Shall we indeed be restored as at first? What! when we have become rotten bones?" "This then," say they, "will be a return to loss (Sura lxxix, 10-12). "Do they not then heed the things spoken—whether that hath come to them which came not to their fathers of old? . . . It is He who hath caused you to be born on the earth; and unto Him shall ye be gathered. . . . But they say, as said those of old; they say, "What! when we shall be dead and have become dust and bones, shall we, indeed, be waked to life? This have we been promised, we and our fathers aforetime; but it is only fables of the ancients' " (Sura xxiii, 70, 82, 84-86).[4] *"These men,"* says the God of the Koran, (Sura lxxvi, 27) *"love the fleeting present and leave behind them the heavy day of doom." "They love the life that now is above that which is to come,* and mislead from the way of God and seek to make it crooked" (Sura xiv, 3). *"They choose this present life and its braveries"* (Sura xi, 18). "They know the outward shows of this present life, but of the next life are they careless" (Sura xxx, 5).

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[3] Cf. also Suras xi, 65; xiv, 12; xxvi, 74ff.; xxviii, 36; xxix, ii; v, 103; I usually give Rodwell's rendering of the Koran verses.

[4] Cf. also xxxvii, 5; lxxiv, 11-26; lxviii, 8-30; li, 51-54; lii, 29-47; xxvi; xv, 11-15.

The religious thought of the race had become crystallized, or fossilized, perhaps, in a few beliefs and practices with a view to certain ends and goods in this life, the value of which the common experience of the race had demonstrated. But that thought also acknowledged, frankly if bitterly, a final termination to all human hopes and fears and desires, and never dreamt of a future, either for the individual or for the race, that would be happier and richer than that which the race already knew. Men saw life as a round of well-known, inescapable, but also for the most part utterly unpredictable events, leading from the cradle to the grave, and directed all their energies towards success in this life, as their fathers had defined success and sought it.

For "all things come alike to all; there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked; to the good and to the clean and to the unclean." And "That which hath been is that which will be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun." "Behold that which I have seen to be good and to be comely is for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy good in all his labour, wherein he laboureth under the sun, all the days of his life which God hath given him; for this is his portion." "And that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; and man hath no preeminence above the beast; for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again" (Eccles. ix, 2; i, 9; v, 18; iii, 19-21).

The pagan Arab saw life with the eyes of the "Preacher." The poet, 'Abīd writes (C. Lyall, xxx, 34-36):

"And he who dies not today, assuredly on some morrow the noose of Death will catch him."

"Say to him who seeks things different from things gone by, *'Be ready to meet the like, for lo! it is here at hand.'* "

"We men who live and the dead of us are just like two travellers, one of whom starts at night, while the other packs his gear for tomorrow's dawn."

"Every living thing goes to destruction," wails the poetess, Al-Khansa',

"every rope at last is broken" (Coppier R., xv, 25-26, p. 41).

"Yea, in sooth, I know," says another pagan poet, "that the end of all to me will be a grave in the dust, whither I shall be borne on a bier."

"And I shall be left there in a dusty place which men like not to visit. . . ."

"Forsooth the vicissitudes [of the days] whirl us all away, and a man's life in the midst of his people is just a loan [to be paid back soon] (Mufad. xxvii, 23-27)

"Ask ye a man, then," says Lebīd (C. Brockelmann II, xli, 1-7), "what he seeks so eagerly [on earth]. Is it a vow to be fulfilled, or a fruitless wandering in vain?"

"Snares are spread in his way, and he perishes, even if the snares miss him."

"If a man travel the whole night long, he may dream that he has finished with toil; but a man labours so long as he lives."

"Say ye then to him who decides in advance what he will do, Has not 'Time' warned you that your mother will be bereaved?"

"And if your soul will not confess to you truly, then count your ancestors. Perhaps the earlier generations will lead you to the truth."

"And if you find that no one has survived since 'Adnān and Ma'add, let the reprovers guide you."

Lebīd, we are told, was later converted to Islam. But the poems, which he wrote while still a pagan, reveal the brooding temper of the thoughtful men of his time, who, like Ecclesiastes, looked on all the works that their hands had wrought, and on the labour that they had laboured to do, and found it all vanity and a striving after wind (Eccles. ii, 11).

"Man prays for health," he writes (C. Brockelmann II, xxii, 1-3, p. 2), "but length of life does him wrong."

"His joyousness fades away. The bitter succeeds the sweets of life."

"And the 'Days' ordain it so that he sees not a thing to rejoice him."

"Thus does 'Time,' " declares Tirimmah (Krenkow v, 7) "with its day and tomorrow drive men to death."

"These two (Time's today and tomorrow) do not grant man a pause, even if his end be afar off in them."

The first poem of Lebīd, which I have quoted, has four additional lines which I omitted, because they reflect Koranic ideas and may be apocryphal. For, once he became a Muslim, Lebīd is said to have turned his back on verse and to have cared no more for his poems.

But these four lines take us back to the Prophet, who, like Lebīd, was contemplating the events of life and seeking a meaning for them.

"I see," writes the author of these lines, "that men do not know their fate *(Qadru amrihim)*. Nay, every man of understanding seeks the favour of God."

"Truly, everything save God is vain; every pleasure will undoubtedly pass away."

"To every man will come an evil (death), whereby the fingers will become yellow."

"And every man will one day know his works, when the results are revealed with God."

Now whether Lebīd wrote these concluding lines or not, Mohammed might have done so, if only he had been a poet, while yet doubts and fears assailed his heart, and he still wrestled with its "obstinate questionings" and "blank misgivings" and peered into that darkness which veils man's fate. But the Prophet finally saw a light and found rest from his "shadowy recollections" in a vision of human destiny and of the high purpose of God's creation. He achieved certainty; and an inner conviction drove him to seek the salvation of his fellowmen.

"Have they not considered within themselves that God hath not created the Heavens and the Earth and all that is between them but *for a serious end, and for a fixed term? . . .*"

"God bringeth forth the creation—then causeth it to return again —then to Him shall ye come back."

"Set thou thy face, then, as a Hanīf, *towards the faith which God hath made, and for which He hath made man.* No change is there in the creation of God. . . ." (Sura xxx, 7, 10, 29).

"Assuredly in the Heavens and the Earth are signs for those who believe; and in your own creation and in the beasts which are scattered abroad are signs to the firm in faith; and in the succession of night and day, and in the supply which God sendeth down from the Heaven, whereby He giveth life to the earth when dead, and in the change of the winds, are signs for a people of discernment. *Such are the signs of God, with truth do we recite them to thee.* But in what teaching will they believe, if they reject God and His signs?"

"In all truth hath God created the Heavens and the Earth, *that He may reward everyone as he shall have wrought; and they shall not be wronged."* (Sura xlv, 2-5, 21.)

"Will they not look up to the heaven above them and consider how We have reared it and decked it forth, and that there are no flaws therein? And as to the earth, We have spread it out, and have thrown the mountains upon it, and have caused an upgrowth in it of all beauteous kinds of plants, *for insight and admonition to every servant who loveth to turn to God"* (Sura l, 6-8).

"He hath created the Heavens and the Earth *to set forth His truth . . .*" (Sura xvi, 3).

"We *created not* the heaven and the earth and what is between them *for sport.* Had it been Our wish to find a pastime, We had

surely found it in Ourselves, if to do so had been Our will" (Sura xxi, 16-17).

"We *have not created* the Heavens and the Earth and whatever is between them *in sport*. We *have created* them *for a serious end only*, although the most of them do not understand it. *Verily, the Day of Severings shall be the appointed time of all*" (Sura xliv, 38-40; cf. Sura xv, 85).

"Verily, We have made all that is on earth as its adornment, that *We might make trial who among mankind would excel in works*" (Sura xviii, 6).[5]

Life's riddle was resolved for Mohammed by the solemn conviction that the world and man therein had been created for a serious and worthy end, and that the whole of nature pointed to that end. The consternating, if sportive, God of Job's Leviathan was denied, and the illusive, enigmatic God of Ecclesiastes also. The will of God was stamped upon His creation for everyone to read, if only they would believe and acknowledge the Lord. For "Of God it is to point out 'the way.' Some turn aside from it. But had He pleased, He had guided you all aright" (Sura xvi, 9).[6]

This vein of natural theology, which runs through the Koran, was to have its day later in Islam. But the serious and worthy end of God's creation, which Mohammed contemplated, was the revelation of God's will concerning man therein and, in especial, of God's testing of man in this transient life with a view to his fate in an everlasting one. The life of this world might be but a play and a pastime compared with that of the next (Sura vi, 31-32; cf. xxxvi, 117), but it was also real and earnest and had its solemn and sobering climax, when men's actions here and now would bear their proper fruit. For here men's hearts and wills are searched and tried and weighed against a future of eternal blessedness or endless damnation, wherein happiness or perdition is a consequent of man's belief or unbelief in God's signs, and dependent upon his obedience or disobedience to God's will as revealed in His creation or by His prophets.

Such was the answer which Mohammed found to the problem of the purpose and meaning of man's fleeting existence on earth.

"We have not created the Heavens and the Earth and what is between them," says the Prophet's God, "for naught. That is the thought of infidels; but woe to the infidels because of the fire! *Shall We treat those who believe and do the things that are right like those who propagate evil on earth? Shall we treat the God-fearing like the impious?*" (Sura xxxviii, 26, 27. Cf. Suras xi, 18-26; xxxii, 18; xl, 42-43).

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[5] Cf. further Suras xxvi, 6, 7; xxix, 43; xxiii, 117; xxxviii, 26; xvi, 9, 106-110; xv, 19ff.; vi, 109, 110; xviii, 100-104; xxx, 51-52; xxxii, 22; xxxvi, 33; xvi, 68ff.

[6] Cf. Suras vi, 109-110; xviii, 100-104; xlv, 21-22; xxx, 51-52.

"And Adam disobeyed his Lord and went astray. Afterwards his Lord chose him for Himself and was turned towards him and guided him. And God said, 'Get ye all down hence [from the Garden], the one of you a foe unto the other, *Hereafter shall guidance come unto you from Me; and whoso followeth My guidance shall not err and shall not be wretched; but whoso turneth away from My monition, his truly shall be a life of misery'* " (Sura xx, 119, 123. Cf. Suras vii, 152, 155; x, 9; xiv, 11; xvi, 120; xxv, 70-71; xxvi, 88; xxxix, 9, 29; xlii, 11-12).

"Hast thou considered him who turned his back, who giveth little and is covetous? Is it that he hath the knowledge and vision of secret things? Hath he not been told of what is in the pages of Moses and of Abraham, who paid in full, that *no burdened soul shall bear the burdens of another, and that nothing shall be reckoned to a man but that for which he hath made efforts, and that his efforts shall at last be seen, that then he shall be recompensed with a most exact recompense*" (Sura liii, 34-42. Cf. Suras xcix, 7-8; lxxxi, 14; lxxviii, 41; lxxv, 13-14; liii, 32, 39-42; xxxvii, 38; xx, 16; xxi, 36, 48; xvii, 16, 73, 74; xxvii, 92; xli, 46; xvi, 112; xxxix, 9, 70; xxix, 39; vi, 132; xxxvi, 53-54; xxiii, 104-106; x, 45; lxxx, 37).

"For its own works lieth every soul in pledge" (Sura lxxiv, 41. Cf. Sura lii, 21).

"He who doth right, it is for himself; and he who doth evil, it is for himself; and thy Lord will not deal unfairly with His servants" (Sura xli, 46. Cf. Suras xvii, 16; xlv, 14; xxix, 5).

"Whoso will choose the harvest field of the life to come, to him shall We give increase in this his harvest field. But whoso chooseth the harvest field of this life, thereof shall We give him; but no portion will there be for him in the life to come" (Sura xlii, 19. Cf. Suras xi, 18-19; xvi, 97-98).

"This present life is prepared for those who believe not, and who mock at the faithful. But they who fear God shall be above them on the day of resurrection" (Sura ii, 208. Cf. Sura xl, 42-43).

"Wealth and children are the adornments of this present world; but good works, which are lasting, are better in the sight of thy Lord as to recompense and hope" (Sura xviii, 44. Cf. Suras xi, 51; xix, 78; lvii, 19; cii, 1-6).

You may choose, then, Mohammed would say, to pursue the gifts of this life, and God will reward you with its vanities and—hell-fire. Or you may seek to follow the will of God and to do the good, and God will repay you with the like doubly (Cf. Sura iv, 44) and—mercy. For "Whoso doeth good *shall have reward beyond its merits,* but whoso doeth evil, they who do evil shall be rewarded only as they have wrought" (Sura xxviii, 84. Cf. Sura xxxvii, 38-39). "To him

who shall present himself with good works, shall be a *reward beyond their desert,* and they *shall be secure from the terror on that day* . . . (Sura xxvii, 91). ". . . this is the reward of the righteous; that *God may do away the guilt of their worst actions,* and *for their best actions render them their reward.* . . . Say: O my people, *act your part as best ye can. I too will act mine;* and in the end ye shall know on whom shall light a punishment that shall shame him, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall. . . . Say: O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, *despair not of God's mercy,* for all sins doth God forgive. Gracious, merciful is He!" (Sura xxxix, 35-36, 40, 54. Cf. Sura xxix 6).

The Prophet might have quoted Deuteronomy xxx: 15, 16: *"See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil;* in that I command thee this day to love Jehovah thy God, to walk in his ways and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his ordinances, that thou mayest live and multiply, and that Jehovah, thy God, may bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to possess it." For the doctrine of the Two Ways is plainly stated in Sura xc, 10-20 and underlies many other passages in the Koran.

"What! thinketh he that no one hath power over him?
What! have We not made him eyes
And tongue and lips,
And *guided him to the two highways?*
And who shall teach thee what the steep is?
It is to ransom the captive,
Or to feed in the day of famine
The orphan who is near of kin, or the poor that lieth in the dust;
Beside this, to be of those who believe, and enjoin steadfastness in each other, and enjoin compassion in each other.
These *shall be the people of the right hand;*
While they who disbelieve our signs
Shall be the people of the left.
Around them the fire shall close.

(Cf. Suras i, 5-7; xcii, 5-10; lxviii, 7; xc, 10-end; lxxxix, 18-21; lvi, 8-9; liii, 31; xvii, 19-20; lxxxvii, 9-17; lxxxv, 10-11; lxx, 15-39; cvii; cii; cf. also perhaps, lxxiv, 41-55; lxxvi, 1-9; l, 20-34; xx, 122-123, 135; xxxviii, 27; xxxvi, 1ff; xliii, 35-36; lxxii, 10-17; xxiii, 1-11; xxv, 36, 56, 59, 64; xxvii, 24; ii, 257).

A fundamental assumption of Mohammed's preaching, then, seems to have been that man has the power to choose and act freely up to a certain point at least. Only God, it is true, enjoys absolute freedom of action. "Thy Lord creates what He pleases, and He acts freely" (Sura xxviii, 68. Cf. Suras iii, 42, 77; liii, 24, 43-45; lxxvi, 30-31; xxxii, 13; xvi, 9, 95, 120). But within a limited sphere God has

granted man freedom of choice and action wherein he may go his own way, if, indeed, on very short tether; and the choice, which determines a man's destiny finally, both here and beyond the grave, is his acceptance or rejection of God's signs and of the revelation of His will, which they establish.

The Koran may seem to assert occasionally that "God misleadeth whom He will and guideth whom He will" (Sura xxxv, 9); but the necessary presupposition in the Prophet's mind was always that this divine action was preceded by an act of choice on man's part.[7] "The predestinarians deny God's word," says Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. "For God most high says (Sura iv, 168), 'Believe, then, it will be better for you' but the ignorant say that it is impossible for them to believe. He also says (Sura xlvi, 30), 'Obey the Summoner,' but the ignorant say that He prevents them from obeying. The Most High says (Sura lvii, 21), 'Vie in hasting after pardon from your Lord,' but the ignorant say, 'How can they vie in hasting after when He compels them absolutely?' And He says (Sura lxxxiv, 20), 'What, then, hath come to them that they do not believe?'; but they say, 'It is because God has prevented them from believing and has caused them to fall into unbelief.' He says (Sura iii, 63), *'O people of the Book! why do you disbelieve the signs of God, of which you yourselves have been the witnesses?'* but the ignorant say that it is because God has foreordained their unbelief and made it irrevocable."[8]

"If truth lay with the predestinarians," says Ḥasan, "God would not have said (Sura xli, 40), 'Do what ye will'; He would have said, 'Do what I have ordained.' And He would not have said (Sura xviii, 28) 'Let him who will believe, and let him who will be an infidel'; He would have said, 'Let him whom *I* will, believe, and him whom I will, be an infidel.' "[9]

Faith precedes guidance. Unbelievers are abandoned to their errors and led further astray. In Sura vii, 94 we read, *"If the people of the cities had believed and feared Us, We would surely have laid open to them blessings out of the Heavens and the Earth;* but *they treated our signs as lies,* and We took vengeance on them for their deeds" (Cf. Suras xviii, 104; xvi, 106-110; xl, 37). "Signs are in the

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[7] Statements such as are contained in Sura lxxvi, 30-31, ". . . . But will it ye shall not, unless God will it. . . . . He causeth whom He will to enter into His mercy . . . .", seem to contradict this assertion; but verses 2, 7-12, 22, 24, 29, show that the basic assumption in the Sura is still that men are divided into two bodies according as they believe or disbelieve. The statements of verses 30 and 31 may refer only to the unbelievers.

[8] See *Der Islam,* xxi, 1.1933, *Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frömmigkeit,* H. Ritter, p. 82, l.iff. The letter is attributed to Ḥasan and is a bold defence of the doctrine of freewill on the basis of scriptural authority. Massignon says that Ḥasan finally repudiated the Qadarite doctrine accepted by his Mu'tazilite disciples (*Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique,* etc., p. 172). The letter is said to have been addressed to the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik (685-705) A. D.).

[9] Ibid., p. 69, 1.21ff. Ḥasan also cites in support of freewill Suras ii, 38, 286; iv, 31, 32, 123, 169; v, 33, 70; vi, 153; vii, 22, 27; viii, 44, 55; ix, 43; xiv, 34; xvii, 34-36, 56; xx, 63, 81, 87; xxvi, 99; xxviii, 14, 15; xxxiii, 67; xxxiv, 49; xxxviii, 61; xxxix, 19; xli, 16, 29; lxvi, 1; lxxiv, 40; lxxvi, 3; xcii, 12, 13.

power of God alone; and *He teacheth you not thereby, only because, when they were wrought, ye did not believe. And We shall turn their hearts and their eyes away from the truth, because they did not believe therein at first . . .*" (Sura vi, 109-110. Cf. Suras ii, 24; xxviii, 50; xxxii, 22). "Thou canst not make the dead to hear, neither canst thou make the deaf to hear the call, *when they withdraw and turn their backs.* Neither canst thou guide the blind out of their error; *in sooth, none shalt thou make to hear, save him who shall believe in our signs . . .*" (Sura xxx, 51-52). Even the Koran, "which is a healing and a mercy to the faithful" shall only add to the ruin of the wicked (Sura xvii, 84); and "as to those who believe not, there is a thickness in their ears, and to them it is a blindness" (Sura xli, 44). To forget God is indeed for man to be forgotten of God (Suras xlv, 33; xxxii, 14), and to forget his own proper self (Sura lix, 19), to "lose his own soul."

The God of the Koran is omnipotent; nothing can resist His will eventually; and many verses can, in fact, be quoted from the Koran, which seem to imply, when torn from their context, man's inability to act freely upon choice. For "To Him doth everything that is in the Heavens and on the Earth submit in willing or in forced obedience" (Sura iii, 77). "Whosoever willeth taketh the way to his Lord; but *will it ye shall not, unless God will it*" (Sura lxxvi, 29-31). "Verily, they against whom the decree of thy Lord is pronounced, shall not believe" (Sura x, 96). "No soul can believe but by the permission of God" (Sura x, 100). "And whom God shall please to guide, that man's breast will He open to Islam; but whom He shall please to mislead, strait and narrow will He make his breast . . ." (Sura vi, 125).

Such Koranic statements, taken by themselves, appear to predicate absolute predestination; but their contexts compel us to put another construction upon them. The passage, Sura x, 96-101, for example, reads, "Verily, they against whom the decree of thy Lord is pronounced, shall not believe, *even though every kind of sign come unto them,* till they behold the dolorous torment. Were it otherwise, *any city, had it believed, might have found its safety in its faith.* But it was so only with the people of Jonas. *When they believed, We delivered them from the penalty of shame in this world* and provided for them for a time. *But if the Lord had pleased, verily, all who are in the earth would have believed together. What! wilt thou compel men to become believers?* No soul can believe but by the permission of God; and He shall lay *his wrath on those who will not understand.* Say: Consider ye whatever is in the Heavens and on the Earth; *but neither signs, nor warners, avail those who will not believe.*" And Sura vi, 125 is followed immediately by the statement that ". . . this is the right way of thy Lord. Now have We detailed our signs unto

those who will consider" (Sura vi, 126), and verse 132 runs: "And *for all are grades* [*of recompense*] *as the result of their deeds; and of what they do, thy Lord is not regardless*"; Sura iii, 77 occurs in a passage dealing with the *acceptance of God's covenants with the prophets;* and Sura lxxvi, 29-31 is manifestly addressed as a warning to those who "love the fleeting present" (verse 27) and has reference probably only to them.

But we have Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's authority for the fact that such Koranic verses were already cited in the reign of the fifth Umayyad Caliph, 'Abdu'l-Malik (685-705), in support of the doctrine of absolute predestination. He reports that the predestinarians of his day interpreted Sura lvii, 22 in this sense. It reads: "No mischance chanceth either on earth or in your own selves, but ere We created them, it was in a book." In Ḥasan's opinion, this verse should be construed as applying only to the circumstances and conditions of a man's life. But the predestinarians, he tells us, took it to mean that God also creates man's belief and unbelief, his obedience and disobedience. Ḥasan also cites Sura vii, 178: "Many, moreover, of the Jinn and men have We created for Hell; they have hearts with which they do not understand, and eyes with which they do not see, and ears with which they do not hear; they are like the brutes, nay! they go more astray; these are the heedless"; and Ḥasan informs us that the predestinarians inferred from it that God brings some beings into existence incapable of the obedience which He requires of them, and others incapable of the disobedience which He has forbidden them, ascribing to God, Ḥasan adds, most infamous characteristics.[10]

The meaning of the verse, it may be observed, is quite clear when read in its context. The Jinn and men whom God has created for Hell are those who follow their own lusts and treat His signs as lies (verse 175); they are the heedless who, as Isaac of Nineveh, the Nestorian mystic of the seventh Christian century, would say, have destroyed the faculty which distinguishes between good and evil, and are justly, therefore, compared to the brutes that possess no distinguishing and rational faculty. And God has, in fact, created them for Hell, inasmuch as He has ordained that such shall be condemned to the fire. But it is nowhere implied that God has created them such. They weave their own fate by their blindness and obduracy. They have hearts and yet do not understand.[11]

Koranic man, then, has his period of grace, or trial, however short his shrift thereafter. And man's freedom of choice and action was defended publicly in Islam up to the eleventh century A.D. at least.

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[10] Ibid., p. 74, 1.5ff. and p. 76, 1. 10ff. Ḥasan also gives the following verses as cited in support of predestination: Suras ii, 24-25; iv, 67, 81; vi, 35; xi, 36, 107; xiii, 27; xxxix, 20; lxxiv, 40; lxxxi, 27, 28.

[11] Professor A. D. Nock pointed out to me the correspondence of the thought here with that of Acts xiii, 40 ff.

The Qadarite sect of the Umayyad age was so named because of its vindication of the doctrine that man is endued with "the natural liberty and power of acting upon choice"; and the later Mu'tazilite sect of Abbasid times also upheld the doctrine of human liberty, and for a short period in the first half of the ninth century under the liberal Caliph, al-Ma'mun (813-833), and his two successors, their views received royal sanction and support, stamping them as orthodox. But the Mu'tazilites did not long enjoy the countenance of the Court. Al-Ma'mun's nephew, al-Mutawakkil (847-861), restored the old orthodox party to power. And in 1017 the Caliph al-Qādir issued a decree bidding them repudiate their doctrines and cease from all theological disputation, and in 1041 he published an official confession, which all theologians had to subscribe, and which marked the end of all free, untrammeled discussion of religious questions.[12]

The orthodox doctrine of predestination, as we find it with al-Ash'ari (died 941/2), one of the founders of the orthodox school of theology, and with his followers of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, is just a formal exposition of the old, orthodox position set forth in the great collections of Muslim Traditions, which received their present form in the ninth and tenth centuries. For when the question of "Power" (Qadr) is discussed in the Traditions, the idea that man has any part in whatsoever befalls him seems to be denied almost with abhorrence,[13] although undoubtedly stories and statements could be adduced from other sections of the Traditions and cited in support of man's freedom.

In his *Kitāb al-Ibānah,* al-Ash'ari states his belief as follows: "We hold that the Word of God is uncreated, and that He does not create anything except He say to it, 'Be,' then it is (Sura xvi, 42); that *there is nothing on the earth, good or evil, but God has wished it;* that things are by the will of God, and that *no one can do anything before God causes him to do it;* that we are not independent of God, nor can we pass beyond the knowledge of God; that there is no creator except God, and that *the works of men are created and predestined by God* (Sura xxxvii, 94); that *men have not the power to create anything,* but *are themselves created* (Suras xxxv, 3; xvi, 17, 20; lii, 35) . . . : that God bestows obedience to Himself upon the faithful, and is gracious to them, prospers them and guides them, but leads astray the infidels and does not guide them, nor grant them the grace of faith . . . ; that God could prosper the infidels and be gracious unto them, so that they would become believers, but *that He wills*

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[12] See A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams,* p. 198.

[13] Cf. *Le Recueil des Traditions Mahometans* par *Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismaïl el-Bokhāri,* L. Krehl and Th. W. Juynboll, vol. iv, pp. 251-257; al-Qastalāni's *Guide for those who study the authentic exposition of al-Bukhāri,* Bulaq ed., 1305 A.H., vol. ix, pp. 343-362; *al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥiḥ* of Muslim, lithographed at Delhi part ii, pp. 568-579.

that they should be infidels in accordance with His knowledge, and that He has forsaken them and sealed up their hearts; that *good and evil are dependent upon God's decree* (Qaḍā) *and power* (Qadar). We believe in God's foreordination (Qaḍā) and execution (Qadar) of good and evil, sweet and bitter. . . ."[14]

Al-Ash'ari's definition of his faith is, as we have remarked, just a simple, dogmatic statement of what is set forth in the Traditions in a more primitive and picturesque fashion. In his *Ṣaḥiḥ,* Bukhārī reports that Abū Hurairah told the following story on the authority of the Prophet: "Adam and Moses disputed with one another. Moses said, 'O Adam, you, our father, failed us and had us thrown out of Paradise.' Adam replied, 'O Moses, God singled you out by talking to you and writing for you with His own hand. Do you, then, blame me for something which God decreed for me forty years before He created me?' So Adam got the better of Moses. Three times Adam got the upper hand of Moses."[15]

Muslim relates that 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Aṣ said: "I heard the Prophet of God . . . say, 'God wrote the decrees respecting created things fifty thousand years before He created the Heavens and the Earth.' "[16] And another Tradition informs us that 'Anas ibn Malik recorded the following saying of the Prophet: "God appoints an angel over the womb who says, 'O my Lord, seed; O my Lord, a clot of blood; O my Lord, flesh.' Then when God wishes to determine its nature, He says: 'O my Lord, male or female, miserable or blessed, and again, what is its lot and what its term of life?' And it is written down accordingly in the womb of the mother."[17]

In the Koran and the Traditions God wills all things at once before the foundation of the world, or He is forever willing them as in the last-cited Tradition and in accordance with the Koranic verse (Sura lvii, 29), "Each day God is occupied with some new thing." Both views are presented side by side, and no preference is expressed one way or the other.[18] The theologians resolved this conflict later by distinguishing between God's decree, His Qaḍā or Qadar,[19] which is His foreordination of all things, and His power, His Qadar or Qaḍā, which is the execution of His decrees in space and time. The former is prior to creation and final; the latter is continuous in time. But this casuistical solution of a theological problem leaves

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[14] Cairo ed., 1348 A.H., pp. 9, 10. "There is no cause," writes a later theologian, Qastalāni, "save the first cause, the will of God."

[15] Krehl, vol. iv, p. 255, l.15, no. 11.

[16] *Al-Musnad,* Bāb kutub al-maqādīr qalb al-Khalq. See Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. viii, (1866), p. 145.

[17] Krehl, vol. 14, p. 250, l. 1.

[18] Cf., for example, Suras ii, 5, 6, 19, 24, 99; iii, 67, 139, 150; iv, 80, 81; vi, 2, 38; vii, 98, 171, 178, 189; x, 22, 50, 96, 99, 100; xiii, 30, 39; xxxv, 9, 21, 41; xlvi, 32.

[19] Cf. *Mafātīh al-Ghaib,* Muh, al-Rāzy, Cairo, 1308 A.H., Vol. vii, pp. 785-787 and *Kitāb Nazm al-Farā'ed,* Shaykh Zādeh, Cairo, 1317 A.H., p. 21. The terms, Qadā and Qadar, are interchanged in the Ash'arite and Māturīdite systems.

the question of man's freedom just where it was, since predestination includes both God's foreordination of all things and His execution of them in space and time.

But orthodox Muslim theologians still hold fast to the fact of man's responsibility for his actions. Only God, it is true, creates. He alone disposes of the creative power, and all human action is produced by this power. But when God creates an act, He also creates at the very moment of the act the power and will to act in man. This created power does not, indeed, in any way cooperate with God in the production of the act; but it is an essential element of voluntary human action, and by virtue of it man "acquires," as the theologians put it, the act, which God alone can bring into existence, as his own and becomes responsible for it. For in "acquirement" the created power acts alone, whereas in the act it is conjoined with the creative power.[20]

This doctrine of "acquirement" has been ridiculed and lampooned by critics both Muslim and Christian. It has been dubbed obscure, subtle and contradictory. Al-Ijī says in his Mawāqif that the Ash'arites accept the "Jabr" (absolute predestination) of the Jabarites and at the same time affirm that man appropriates for himself the actions created by God, and by this appropriation (Kasb) assumes responsibility for them by an act of free-will.[21] But a follower of modern psychology could probably see some sense in it. The problem of man's responsibility for the acts, of which he is the locus, is just as obscure for us in its way, as is this Ash'arite doctrine, or even more so. For even the conscious and voluntary action of man is still so governed by such a mass of unknown, and perhaps unknowable factors, that to ask, how much of any such action is man's very own, or, again, why does man think it his own? is to pose a very nice and abstruse, if not an insoluble, question. The Ash'arites maintain that a man is responsible for an act, when at the moment of the act he feels the will and power to act, even if not he, but God alone, produces the act.

Some of the reasons which led to this curious volte-face in Muslim thought concerning man's destiny, are obvious. In the first place, except for a brief period in the first half of the eighth century, the doctrine of predestination had behind it the corrupting favour and oftentimes the strong-armed support of despotic rulers with absolute control over all legal and theological appointments and offices. The first dynasty of Islam, the Umayyads (661-750), persecuted the Qadarites, for political reasons undoubtedly. For they claimed to rule by

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[20] Cf. al-Isfarā'inis (died 1015) statement quoted in de Vlieger's Kitāb al-Qadr, p. 168.
[21] Ibid., pp. 83 and 171. Cf. Th. Soerensen's *Statio Quinta et Sexta et Appendix libri Mevakif . . . . el-Igī*, p. 105, 11, 14ff.

the decree and will of God as His vicegerents[22] and seem to have regarded speculation concerning the doctrine of freewill as the prologue to rebellion. Ma'bad the Juhanite of Baṣra, who is reported to have been the first to profess freewill in Islam, was put to death by the Caliph, 'Abdu'l-Malik (685-705), or by his iron-fisted governor, al-Ḥajjāj, in the year 699/70.[23] That most pious prince, 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz (717-720), was persuaded apparently that the only course to take with the adherents of such an insidious and pernicious heresy, was to summon them to recant and to put them to the sword if they were obdurate.[24] And 'Abdu'l-Malik's son, the Caliph Hishām (724-743), drove them into exile or slew them; Ma'bad's successor as the leading exponent of the doctrine of freewill, Abu Marwan Jailan al-Dimishqi, was crucified by him at the gate of his capital, Damascus.[25]

The second dynasty of Islam, the Abbasids (750-c.1100) gave countenance, as we have already remarked, to the proponents of freewill for about two decades in the first half of the eighth century. But about the middle of the century the Caliph, Mutawakkil (847-861), threw his support to the orthodox party with their traditional and popular view of man's destiny; and al-Qādir's decree of 1017 and his confession of 1041 were promulgated with the sole purpose, evidently, of driving all enemies of the doctrines of the uncreatedness of the Koran and of predestination out of public life.

The Ash'arites, in spite of their defence of these two decisive doctrines, were themselves at first involved in the evil consequences of this change of policy. For until well into the fifth century of the Hijrah they seem still to have been confused with their ancient opponents, the Mu'tazilites, chiefly because of their teaching concerning the divine attributes apparently; and the Seljuk Sultan, Tughril-beg, who died in 1063 A.D., included them along with the Mu'tazilites and several other sects in a general anathema from the pulpit and persecuted and banished their most influential teachers. Tughril-beg's son, Alp Arslan, however, and his famous vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk, found in them and the schools, which they had established, a most useful weapon ready to hand with which to counter the propaganda of their Shi'ite rivals, the Buwayhids (932-1055) and the Fatimids (968-1171); and under the patronage of the court they won to power in Persia, and thence their authority spread through Irāq and on west to Syria and Egypt under the Ayyubites and Mamelukes and finally to North Africa in the twelfth century under the Almohads. But for the old-fashioned orthodox the Ash'arites remained heretics;

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[22] Cf. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1924, p. 62. Cf. also I. Goldziher in Z.D.M.G. lvii (1903), p. 394.
[23] *Ibn Taghri Birdi*, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, vol. i, p. 221, l. 11ff. and p. 222, l. 7ff.
[24] *Muwaṭṭa*, ed. Zurqāni, iii, 83.
[25] *Annales*, Tabari, ed. de Goeje, ii, 1777. *Shahrastāni*, ed. Cureton, i, p. 105.

and the learned Zāhirite historian and geographer al-Maqrīzī (died 1405), sums up his case against them by saying that their system had prevailed by blood and violence.[26] "A religion of submission, suppressing the initiative of individuals and oppressing them under an iron law, would not, as Professor G. Levi Della Vida has well said, have developed in an atmosphere of political liberty."[27]

In the second place, we should observe and consider the definition of free will which was current in the Eastern Christian Church, and which the Muslims encountered, therefore, in Christian polemics, and which most of the Mu'tazilites, for their part, seem to have accepted. For Christian theologians, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, Basil of Caesarea, the two Gregories and John of Damascus, freewill meant a delegation of power by God to man as a rational nature, by virtue of which power man possesses the same freedom of action that God has. "When Philo says," remarks Professor H. A. Wolfson, "that God gave to the human mind a portion 'of that free will which is His most peculiar possession and most worthy of His majesty' and that by this gift of free will the human mind 'in this respect has been made to resemble Him,' it is quite evident that by man's freewill Philo means an absolutely undetermined freedom like that enjoyed by God, who by his power to work miracles can upset the laws of nature and the laws of causality which He himself has established."[28]

To a pious Muslim of the old school, steeped in the thought and feeling of the Koran and the Traditions, such sentiments must have sounded utter blasphemy. They were also absurd. For, as al-Qastalānī says, "it is contrary to the faith of Islam to teach that anything can exist without God's willing it, or that He can will anything without its happening. You can only will what God wills. That is the heart of the doctrine of the sovereignty of God."[29] And the doctrine of the sovereignty of God is the essence of Islam. The fundamental attribute of God is His omnipotence. And this Christian conception of freewill infringed not only God's omnipotence. It ran counter to the basic mood of Koranic and early Islamic piety. "Say," declares the God of Sura cxii, "He is God alone, God the eternal. He begetteth not, and He is not begotten. *And there is none like unto Him.*" "All Muslims maintain," says al-Ash'ari, "that the Creator is a *thing not like the* [*created*] *things.*"[30] To compare God, or any attribute of God, to any

[26] See A. F. Mehren's *Exposé de la Réforme de l'Islamisme,* pp. 56, 57, and I. Goldziher's *Die Zāhiriten,* pp. 137-139, 151, 191-200; also A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams,* pp. 197-201.

[27] *The Crozer Quarterly,* July 1944, vol. xxi, No. 3, p. 215.

[28] Harvard Theological Review, vol. xxxv, No. 2, April 1942, p. 149. Cf. p. 146. For Theodore cf. *Theodori Mopsuesteni Fragmenta Syriaca,* ed. Sachau (Leipzig, 1869), text, p. 18, ll. 5-6, 10-13; p. 19, l. 15ff.; p. 61, l. 14ff. For Basil cf. Hom. ix, 6-7 (Patr. Gr. t. xxxi, coll. 344-345), Hom. iii, 1 (ibid. coll. 200-201), Hexam. ii, 5 (ibid., t. xxix, coll. 37-40). For John of Damascus cf. *De Fide Orthodoxa* ii, Capp. 23-30, and *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani* (Bibl, Veterum Patruum . . . . cura Andreae Gallandi), p. 272.

[29] See the Kitāb al-Qadr of his *Irshād al-Sārī* on Bukhārī's Ṣaḥiḥ (Bulaq, 1305 A.H.), vol. ix, pp. 343-362.

[30] H. Ritter's *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von . . . . al-Ash'arī,* Bibliotheka Islamica, Ia, p. 181.

created thing, or any quality of a created thing, is the final absurdity of a crazed mind. Human liberty, granted there be such a thing, cannot be an absolutely undetermined freedom like God's. It cannot even be put in the same category. From such foolish and impious imaginings the humble, orthodox Muslim heart shrank back in godly fear and sought a less audacious answer to the troublesome question of man's responsibility for his own fate.

Finally, the pagan, poetic notion of fate, or of "Time," with its day and tomorrow, as the principle of the coming-to-be and passing-away of things and events, and its possible influence upon the Islamic conception of human destiny should be observed and considered.[31] For the God who "creates what He pleases" and "acts freely" (Sura xxxviii, 68, who "standeth on a watch-tower" (Sura lxxxix, 13) and "witnesses everything" (Sura lxxxv, 9), who "produceth all things and causeth them to return" (Sura lxxxv, 13), who "causeth to laugh and to weep, to die and to come to life" (Sura liii, 43), who "bestoweth full supplies on whom He pleaseth and giveth sparingly to whom He pleaseth" (Sura xxx, 36. Cf. xvi, 73; xxxiv, 35), who "alternates days of success with days of misfortune" (Sura iii, 134) and "carries men onward from state to state" (Sura lxxxiv, 18), from whom cometh "whatever good betideth man, or whatever evil betideth him" (Sura iv, 81), since "no mischance chanceth but by His permission (Sura lxiv, 11. Cf. lvii, 22), to whom belongs "whatever is before us, and whatever is behind us, and whatever is between the two" (Sura ix, 65), in whose hand "are the future and the present" (Sura liii, 25) and of whom "is the change of the night and of the day" (Sura xxiii, 82. Cf. xxiv, 44 and xxxix, 6), whom "no one can outstrip" (Sura xxix, 38), and "no single beast is there which He holdeth not by its forelock" (Sura xi, 59), such a God endued with such characteristics must have recalled and kept alive the notion of destiny associated with the pagan poet's "Time" (Dahr), that "Possessor of change for man,"[32] which alone "brings its change upon all who are given to drink of it and are [then] removed afar";[33] that "double-coloured hidden one,"[34] that "lets its two conditions (of 'straightness and ease'[35] or of 'sweet and bitter'[36]) follow upon one

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[31] On the pre-Islamic notion of fate cf. J. Chr. Krüger, *Dissertatio historico-critica de Fato Muhammedans, etc.*: L. Warnerus, *Dissertatio qua de vitae termino, utrum fixus est, an mobilis, etc.*: Dr. O. Spiess, *Die Praedestinationslehre des Koran* (1873), Krehl's *Lehre von der Praedestination*, Salisbury's *Muhammedan Predestination and Freewill* (JAOS vol. viii), W. L. Schrameier, *Ueber den Fatalismus der vor-Islamischen Araben*, Wellhausen's *Reste des Arabischen Heidenthums*, Goldziher's *Mu'ammarūn* (ZDMG, vol. lvii) Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur Arabischen Poesie*, Houtsma's *De Stryd wer het Dogma*, Obermann in W Z K M, vol. xxx, De Vlieger's *Kitab al-Qadr*, and W. Caskel, *Morgenländische Texte und Forschungen*, A. Fischer, 1926, Montgomery in Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. xliii, parts iii and iv.

[32] Mu'tatid, C. Lang in ZDMG, vol. xl (1886), p. 586, ll. 33-34.

[33] W. Ahlwardt, *Ueber Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, p. 77.

[34] Sir C. Lyall, *Mufaḍḍalīyat*, lxxv, 24.

[35] Krenkow's *Tirimmāḥ*, ii, 5.

[36] R. Copper's *Al-Khansā'*, ii, 5.

another,"[37] which "makes to weep" and "makes to laugh,"[38] and "does now good" and "again does mischief";[39] that destroyer of men with its vicissitudes and its eternity,[40] which "corrupts tomorrow what today it has made sound,"[41] which "nothing outlasts,"[42] against which "not a thing endures,"[43] and which will "trip man up" eventually,[44] which alone "weaves the warp and woof [of life],"[45] and "in its hand holds the feathering and unfeathering,"[46] which no one can "reprove" and with which no one can "remonstrate."[47] "To be rightly guided and to err," says an old Hudhailite poet, "are on one rope; *day and night brings thee all that.*"[48]

The Prophet, it is true, repudiates His countrymen's idea of destiny expressly in Sura xlv, named "The Kneeling." Verse 23 of this chapter runs, "And they (the pagan Meccans) say: 'There is only this present life of ours; we die and we live, and only Time (Dahr) destroys us.' But they have no knowledge of that at all. They are only guessing" (Cf. Sura xxxviii, 9).

In his commentary on the Koran Ṭabarī (839-923) gives the following explanation of this verse: "They (the pagans) used to think that the passing of the days and nights was the agent in the destruction of the souls. They denied the Angel of Death and the seizing of the spirits by the command of God. They used to refer every event that happened to Time (Dahr) and Duration (Zamān). Their poets may be heard uttering complaints over Time. The Prophet alludes to this [idea] in his saying, "Do not curse Time (Dahr), for God is Time"; that is, *"God is the producer of events, not Time."* And Bukhārī (810-870) in his Ṣaḥīḥ, commenting on the Koranic phrase "And only Time destroys us," says that Abu Huraira related the following statement from the Prophet: "God, the Almighty and Exalted, said: *The man who curses Time offends Me, for I am Time.* Mine is the command to make night succeed day" (Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, iii, 330); and in another chapter (iv, 101, p. 155) he gives another version of this saying on the same authority, namely, *"Men curse Time, but I am Time,* night and day are in My hand."

The Lisān al-'Arab also discusses this tradition in its article on "Dahr" and says that "Do not curse Time, for God is Time" means

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[37] Kowalski Th., *Kais b. al-Ḥaṭīm,* Appendix I, 4, text, p. 42; transl. p. 81.
[38] Lyall's Mufaḍ., lvii, 13, Abu Temmam's *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), Vol. I, p. 142, l. 7, first verse.
[39] R. Boucher's *Farazdak,* ccxxx, p. 661/ 222, 6.
[40] Abu Temmam's *Ḥamāsa* (Ed. Freytag, Bonn, 1828) text Vol. I, p. 405, l. 15; transl. vol. ii, 2, p. 81, foot; Kosegarten's *Poems of the Huzailis,* ii, 4-25; xxviii, 5; Noeldeke's *Beiträge,* p. 120; Lyall, Mufaḍ., cxxvi, 14.
[41] Goldziher's *Mu'ammarūn,* xiii, p. 19.
[42] Boucher's *Farazdak,* cxviii, p. 362, 3.
[43] Ibid., ccxl, 2; p. 227. 2 from bottom; Noeldeke's Beiträge, p. 159.
[44] Boucher's *Farazdak,* cxliii, p. 687.3; Goldziher's Mu'ammarūn, xiii, p. 19.
[45] Copper's *Al-Khansa',* p. 27, ii, 20.
[46] Wellhausen's *Skizzen,* Vol. I, Hudhailite Poems, p. 172, ll. 1-3.
[47] Copper's *Al-Khansa',* p. 27, ii, 20; Abu Temmām's Hamosa, text, I., p. 406, l. 5; transl. Vol. II, 2, p. 82.
[48] Wellhausen's, *Skizzen,* Vol. I, Hudhailite Poems, p. 153, ll. 9-12.

that "whatever befalls you from Time, God is the doer of it, not Time," and that "if you revile Time for it, that is just as if you meant God thereby" (Thus far citing al-Jauharī). "For," it proceeds, "they (the pagans) used to attribute misfortunes to Time; then it was said to them: 'Do not curse the doer of that to you, for it is God Most High,' or, in another Tradition, 'for Time is God Most High.' " And the Lisān informs us that some of the adherents of the Zandaqa (Dualists or Atheists) and of the Dahriyya (Materialists, Believers in the eternity of the world) made use of this tradition in their polemics with the Muslims and said: "Do you not see that he (the Prophet) says: 'For God is Time?' " The later Zāhirites, Goldziher tells us, are supposed to have based their inclusion of Time (Dahr) among the Beautiful Names of God on this poetical identification of God with Time.[49]

Neither the Prophet, then, nor his orthodox followers seem to have freed themselves wholly from the pagan philosophy of life, which we find associated in pre-Islamic Arab poetry with the notion of Time and the everlasting procession of its days and nights. The characteristics of Time became in due season the characteristics of God as the Lord of Time and the Controller of History; and a scientific causal fatalism succeeded a folk fatalism, God's ceaseless manipulation of the atoms of matter and of quality replacing the endless succession of days and nights, the chance of Time, as the principle of the coming-to-be and passing-away of things. And so the Prophet's vision of a blessed future pledged by God as a reward for faith and good works faded away before his pagan forebears' perception of the march of Time. The Ancient of Days had come into his own again; and Man's life was envisaged once more as a series of separate events, with no relation to each other now than that they are each the immediate product of God's creative power, as once each day had dawned pregnant with its own affairs.

"The turn (Raib) of Time reaps what it sows."[50]

WILLIAM THOMSON

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[49] Die Ẓāhiriten, p. 153.
[50] Lyall, Mufaḍ., cxxvi, vrs. 64, p. 196ff.

THE BIBLE IN MOSLEM HANDS

PART II

IRAN

The religion of Iran is Shiah Islam, but there are also some 800,000 Sunnites living in the country. Modern Bible work in Iran began with Henry Martyn's translation of the New Testament in Persian, an edition of which was subsidized by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the year 1814. In 1880 an Agency was established. The ground was hard and the people most fanatical and unapproachable. The work of circulation was therefore slow and between the years 1880 and 1890 only 32,716 volumes of the Scriptures were sold. But the doors gradually opened and in the following ten years the circulation increased to 112,002 copies, an average of 11,000 volumes a year. Today we sell about 50,000 copies annually and the actual circulation in the year 1944 was 50,180 copies. During the sixty-five years the British and Foreign Bible Society has done intensive colportage and 1,319,518 volumes have been sold. And before the whole work was transferred to the B.F.B.S. the American Bible Society also sold some 120,000 volumes in North Iran.

The Bible in Moslem hands has had leavening and far-reaching influences. To a great extent it has been responsible for the breaking down of the barriers of intolerance and fanaticism. It has acquainted the public mind with Christian standards and ideals and brought before tens of thousands the challenge of our Lord's claim as the Saviour of all men. Whereas the knowledge of the Word of God was once almost *nil* in this country, today we find people in out-of-the-way places discussing Christianity and its message with our colporteurs. Whereas once the attitude of the Moslem to the Christian was one of resentment, today there is a sympathetic and friendly attitude towards Christians, and the Bible, generally speaking, is respected. One of our colporteurs reports that on one journey he had many people coming to his room to buy books and while there was a crowd somebody remarked, "I do not want to buy a Bible because I am afraid it will make me a Christian," to which another Moslem replied, "Never mind; let any one who cares to accept Christ do so. What does it matter?" Another Moslem remarked on another occasion, "The Bible is a great Book. The trouble is it is too good to be practicable." So from the days of intolerance, persecution and fanaticism the tide has turned to a liberal and considerate attitude.

Our colporteurs' journals are full of incidents which show the power of the Book. "The people here," writes one man, "need the

word of God more than anything else and I am very glad to have come. In a city busy with the affairs of the world I have borne witness to the Word of Life." "In Kermanshah," writes another, "A Kurdish chief came very close to faith; he was introduced to the church pastor, with whom he has had Bible lessons and the pastor has been asked to go to his village and hold meetings." "During these months," comes another report, "I have had the joy of seeing three people come to Christ through reading the Bible. One of them is ready to make open confession and they have all asked to be introduced into the church." "Your books," said a customer to a colporteur, "have brought me the news of salvation. Praise God, Jesus is my Lord; may I have the grace to pass the news on."

The Bible has penetrated the homes of the rich and influential, and brought about in them a change of attitude. A Turkoman chief when offered the Scriptures bought a New Testament and remarked, "I wish you would come with your books to my country, I wish every one who could read could have a copy of this book for his guide." And a certain official of high standing one day came to our Depot and remarked, "Gentlemen, your work is the most important that is being done in this country, I do not see how any one could be engaged in greater work." The journeys of one of our men last year took him to Zabul. The leader of Zabul, a Baluchi chief, is a convert to Christianity. He owes his faith to a copy of the Bible he bought from a missionary some twenty-four years ago. He entertained our colporteur and his missionary friends, helped them in their work and gave a donation to the Society's funds besides some presents to his visitors.

The Bible has found its way into the homes of the common people, bringing comfort and peace to many a heart, and light and life to many a seeker after God. "In A——," writes a colporteur, "I asked M—— how he had come to the Christian faith." "A couple of years ago," he replied, "two colporteurs came to my town and from them I bought a Bible. Through reading the Bible my eyes were gradually opened and I went to Y—— and asked for baptism from the missionary." "In M——," the colporteur continues, "one night two men came to me saying, 'Monsieur, what do we have to do, for we are already believers in Jesus.' I directed them to Y——, the church centre of the district and rejoiced over their wonderful experiences." Our colporteur in this same place had a further delight. One day a number of women sent for him and asked that he should pray for them. He accepted the call and found an earnest group for whom he prayed. "Pray for the Meibodese," so the report is concluded. "They have found much in Christ and the Scriptures; pray that they may not lose what they have found and that they may grow deeper in faith."

A few isolated Christian groups in the country owe their existence

to the power of the Bible. At Kalat, a village near Shiraz, city of the renowned Persian poets Sa'adi and Hafiz, there is a small church building at the foot of a mountain. The work was started by a colporteur's visit and the sale of Bibles. Two men became interested and asked the colporteur to baptize them. Today there is a small Christian group in the village and they have a lay-reader conducting services every Sunday. At S—— there is another group of Christians. The leader of the group, a middle-aged man with a fine Christian spirit, owes his faith to a copy of the Bible he bought from a colporteur. For years he left the Bible on a top shelf, but one day when he was downhearted and gloomy he took the Bible to read. The message gripped him; he later found opportunities to discuss things and accepted Christ. "At Qum we had a wonderful time," so reports a missionary, "A shop-keeper whose shop faces the Mohammedan shrine came and asked to be baptized. He was once a bookseller and while going through some books came across a Bible and by reading it was interested in the Christian faith. He saw us last year and we had conversations and this year I had the joy of baptizing him, the first convert in the shrine city of Qum."

The work of Bible distribution amongst Moslems, however, has its handicaps and the colporteurs are still at times ill-treated. But such experiences are occasional in these days and usually end well. "A young man," writes a colporteur, "when offered a Bible threw it back at me saying he had no use for it." "But I went to his room and talked things over with him and took him to the church pastor. Shortly afterward, he came to me and started having Bible lessons. He later persuaded the manager of the hotel in which he was living to buy a Bible for the use of the boarders and he and the hotel manager have often come to church together! I am hoping that before long the young man will confess Christ."

There is no more speedy way for the advancement of the Kingdom of God in a Moslem land than to spread forth the knowledge of the Bible. But to have a continuous and ever-increasing circulation and to have the best results for the Kingdom the Bible must be sold, and at a reasonable price. My sixteen years' experience in Bible distribution in Iran has taught me that any free distribution or the charging of very nominal prices causes waste and does not bring the best results. Many a careless purchaser judges the value of a book by what he pays for it. If he has received it free or paid a very insignificant price, the chances are that the book is carelessly looked after and probably never read. But when he has sacrificed something in getting it he values the book and reads it.

The Bible travels far and wide and goes to places where the missionary cannot go. It works silently but surely, tilling the soil and

preparing the way, regenerating souls and bringing many to a living faith. Though only the first fruits have been gathered in, we have reason to look forward to the advent of the day when thousands who have been influenced by the Book and who for reasons of prestige and work have not been bold to make open confession, will accept Christ as their Saviour.

A. NAKHOSTEEN

Teheran, Iran

INDIA

This last quarter of a century has seen great changes in India, and on its Frontiers, and many things have been affected, amongst others, Gospel-selling.

In olden days it was an achievement to sell a Gospel. The small book, priced at one farthing, would be taken in the prospective buyer's hands, the paper fingered, the pages almost counted, colour and binding well noted, balanced on the flat of the hand to try the weight, the pocket searched for the small coin, and often after all that, it might be returned to the seller, with the remark that he would think it over! It took a lot of time and patience to sell even a few.

Now, it is very different. Certainly there is more money about, and many more readers, and there is a desire for literature; ofttimes an English Gospel will be bought that the student may improve his English. There is also a dissatisfaction in many hearts with the spiritual poverty that is now beginning to be realised in their own religion. The price of the Gospel portions has been brought up to be conformable with the price of paper, as it was found many shopkeepers bought up the small volumes to be able to use the paper for wrapping up tobacco, tea, snuff, etc. In Peshawar a very common reply to the offer of a Gospel today, is, I have read that, or, I have one already! For this we do praise God, for we know it is the living seed, and it is working its way into the heart and life of the people.

The truths of the Bible have to a great extent permeated India, many of the quotations from the Sermon on the Mount or other portions being often slightly altered, and attributed to Gandhi, or even Mohammed, or others. But although knowledge is increased; money freer, though still preserving a tight hold on its lovers; clothes smarter, though not always so picturesque nor so colourful; refusal clothed in more refined satirical contempt, rather than in the coarse abuse of olden days; yet the Moslem mind is still enmity against God, and does not want His Word! The preachers of the Gospel in the city often have stormy passages. One was saved last week only by the loud-speaker he had in his hand, which suffered badly, when a

wicked hockey-stick with all the might of an angry Pathan's strong arm behind it was aimed at his head! But how precious is the Word to some. We think of one gentle old lady who thirty years ago heard something of it, and has kept it hidden in her heart ever since; and now, coming in touch with God's messengers, is asking for baptism.

So much for the Bible in Moslem hands, and what shall be said of the Bible in the hands of workers to Moslems? It is their only source of courage, their comfort in loneliness, their hope in disappointment, their inspiration; its truths proving that, however fruitless it may seem to them, their work is not in vain in the Lord.

FLORA M. DAVIDSON

Peshawar City, N. W. F. P.

TURKEY

" 'The Bible in Moslem Hands,' " said my old Moslem friend thoughtfully. "I should think that the first question is: Does the Moslem read the Bible or not? And my answer would be that in general he does not. Let me try to give you some of the reasons why he does not. In the first place, the Moslem has been trained not to wish to see Christians as in any way his equals. For though it is basic in the faith of a Moslem to hold all prophets in equal veneration and to make no difference in authority between the books which they brought, yet, for political and selfish ends the masses of our people have been given a far different teaching. They are taught that the *Tevrat, Zebur* and *Injeel* which the Koran accepts as authentic books from God, have been so corrupted that the books now bearing these sacred names are little like their counterparts mentioned in the Koran. But worse than this, the Christians worship a different God, that is, Jesus. Therefore neither their book nor their worship accords with truth. And the popular feeling is that this corruption of faith and worship has produced (with but few exceptions) a corresponding decay of character and morals among those who cling to these errors.

"The same spirit of superiority has led the Moslem to feel that the Koran is so complete that to read another sacred book is something like a betrayal. At least it is an admission that the reader has been unable to appreciate the divine beauties and truths of his Koran, which would otherwise satisfy him completely.

"While these feelings exist—and be sure that the majority of Moslems do feel this way—is it possible for a Moslem to read the Bible? On one condition, that he is reading for the sake of gaining knowledge. But in reading he will be trying to see the beauties of the Koran contrasted with the barrenness and untruths of the Bible.

Do not Christians who read a translation of the Koran often do so in much this same ungenerous spirit?

"You know my own story, how among my father's books at his death I found a copy of the Bible which I made haste to give away to the first reprobate whom I thought it could not possibly injure. Later a friend gave me a copy of a new translation of the Psalms. For his sake I made a great effort to read the book, but after about sixteen pages I could do no more, and this book followed the first. But the day came when God wanted that I should read the Bible, and for more than ten years I have studied and used it, I believe to the great benefit of myself and others."

As one who is responsible for the distribution of Scriptures in countries which are strongly or almost exclusively Moslem, I am inclined to be less pessimistic than was my Moslem friend, even while I admit a great element of truth in all he says. In Iraq and Syria it is difficult to estimate what proportion of Arabic Scriptures are bought by Moslems and what by Arabic-speaking Christians. But in Turkey an approximate analysis is much simpler. The great majority of Scriptures entering into distribution statistics are sold within the city of Istanbul. It is true that in this city are congregated most of the non-Moslem citizens of Turkey. But for religious purposes almost all of these use a tongue other than Turkish, and those who do employ that language prefer Scriptures in which the Turkish words are written in Greek or Armenian characters. It would therefore be not unfair to assume that practically all the Turkish Scriptures printed in the Arabic script and three quarters of those printed in the Roman script went into the hands of Moslems. On this basis of estimate, the year 1944 saw 230 Bibles, 173 New Testaments in the Arabic script, and 303 Bibles, 171 New Testaments and 5880 Portions in the Roman script come into the hands of Moslems.

And what were the visible, "practical" results of this not inconsiderable distribution of over 6500 copies of Scriptures? That is one of the curious and in many ways disappointing features of the work. Almost no echo comes back, either favourable or otherwise. It is as silent as the planting of seed. No one returns to praise, discuss or condemn. Perhaps the nearest to praising are the not infrequent customers who buy a copy with evident pleasure saying, "I used to own a Bible, and since I lost it I have looked everywhere for a chance to get another." So we go on in faith, believing that most of the books we sell are read and kept, and that many who read are not entirely untouched by it, while a very few find for themselves here the very truth of God.

F. Lyman MacCallum

Beirut, Syria

IRAQ

The Moslem lands which I know best are those which constitute the Near East and specifically those in Arab Asia. Being at the contact point of three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe, these Moslem lands are affected by the war on all sides and will have a large and important place in the peace settlement. In that peace settlement two factors will play a vital part: oil and aviation. These Near East states contain oil in unmeasured quantities and are on the direct air routes to the Far East. They are thus all parts of one economic programme.

They also share a mental unity. They are all very Arab-conscious. The recent Arab Unity Congress has emphasized their common cultural heritage which it is proposed to cultivate and develop. Although aware of their centrifugal tendencies in the past, and having not succeeded conspicuously in their efforts toward national unity, either as parts or as a whole, they yet aspire to some form of inclusive organization, of which the key-stone shall be Islam. Agreement on the caliphate is totally out of the question for a multitude of reasons.

Into this vacuum Christ must enter. But how shall we present Christ? Shall we go back to the old slogans and speak of the citadel of Islam, and battle-lines and attack? That would be adopting the method of Mohammed himself. Christ Himself as the son of Abraham, Who trod their soil and Whose blood they share, and Whose language and thought-pattern is native to this soil, this Christ as King, Savior and Lord, is the only answer to Near East unity. So, whatever political and administrative and economic machinery governments may set up at the Peace Conference, the Church must become regal in her outlook, triumphant and unafraid in her assurance, and preach this sovereign Christ.

It is my personal conviction that hitherto the impression we have left in the Arab East is that we are *American* missionaries. We have been American in method, in organization, in efficiency, in zeal and in spirit. To that extent we have failed. The Moslem, as he hears our message must remember none of these things. I fear that we even preached an American Christ. The only antidote is to get the Arabs to read the Gospel story again and again and let Christ speak His own message in their own peerless tongue.

JOHN VAN ESS

Busrah, Iraq

EGYPT

For over 100 years the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society have been working in circulating the Holy Scriptures in Arabic-speaking Moslem lands. Wherever the

Arabic language prevails, there Mohammedanism is generally predominant, and there the Arabic Bible, which has brought about much awakening among the Arabic-speaking Christian churches in these lands, is being circulated also among the Moslems. The version at present used is that first published in 1865, although there were several translations made previous to that date. A version of the Scriptures is said to have been made during the lifetime of Mohammed; and this fact serves to account for the knowledge of the Scriptures displayed by him. On the other hand, it is argued that the fact that no complete version existed till about a century after Mohammed must have an important bearing upon the rapid rise and spread of Islam.

The feeling of self-satisfaction and superiority of the followers of Islam makes the approach difficult. Many, however, who have received the Bible with unbiased mind and heart, have found great blessing. And most converts, if not all, have come to Christ through the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures. The sacrifices to be borne and the difficulties to be overcome by those wishing to make open profession of Christianity still being great, there are many who follow Christ secretly, and the Bible is the cherished treasure of many such.

Of the work of placing the Bible into Moslem hands it might be said that only the fringe has been touched, and that chiefly by the colporteurs of the Bible Societies. The colporteurs' experience is that those who argue most against the Holy Scriptures are often those who have never read or studied them, and that those who have taken the trouble to read them are usually friendly. After reading the Gospel story, many have expressed admiration of the life and sayings of Jesus Christ, and even if the matter has gone no further, prejudice has been broken down and removed. Illiteracy also is a great handicap in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, but with the movements to remedy this, the number of possible readers of the Scriptures will increase, and it is for us to make the best use of the opportunities. The spirit of nationalism that has come over the various countries is not helping the approach of what is to them the Book and religion of the foreigner. The Bible Societies in the persons of their agents and especially their colporteurs, undeterred by the various phases of human nature, and with God's grace and help, continue to carry out their work of offering the Word of Life, in season and out of season, to all the millions for whom also the Gospel message was proclaimed.

H. Athanassian

Port Said, Egypt

THE TURKS IN KHURASAN AND TRANSOXANIA AT THE TIME OF THE ARAB CONQUEST

It is commonly held by European historians that the Seljuks represent the first Turks who "migrated into" Muslim lands. A closer study of historical sources reveals that this view does not take into account the Turks who lived in greater Khurasan both before and after the Arab conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The Muslim records are substantiated by notices in Byzantine, Syriac and Chinese records which refer to the Ephthalites and other peoples as Turks. The contents of the various accounts of these Turks indicate that they were not merely mercenary soldiers, nor the ruling class, but formed an important part of the population of Khurasan and Transoxania.

An examination of the linguistic map of the Near East at the present time reveals the great extent of Turkish-speaking peoples, from the Balkans across Anatolia, Azerbaijan, northern Iran into Afghanistan. But the greater part are in South Russia, the Volga region, Central Asia, Siberia, and western China. Furthermore, there are isolated Turkish groups such as the Qashqai in Fars and Khuzistan, the Khalaj in the Isfahan area, the Gagaouz in Rumania, and others.

This spread of the Turkish language is nothing short of amazing, for the Turks, unlike the Arabs, did not have a Turkish religious book, by which their language might have assumed a spiritual value to help its spread. The Turkish princes and rulers in the Middle Ages did not attempt to enforce the Turkish language as the tongue to be used by their subjects. They did not even adopt it as their own court language, which would have enhanced its position as the language of administration, and thus encouraged its cultivation by those aspiring to government posts. On the contrary, they used in court, and encouraged the public use of, Arabic and especially Persian. Until the time of the Ottomans the Turks made little effort to enhance the dignity of their tongue, and it was only after many years of Ottoman rule that Turkish gradually began to compete with Arabic and Persian as a literary and scientific language, even among the people outside the court. In spite of competition by Arabic and Persian, and other handicaps, Turkish, as a spoken language, did spread rapidly over large areas in the Middle Ages. Yet many still consider the Turks to have lived in small tribes beyond the Syr Darya (Jaxartes river), leading an exclusively nomadic mode of life. It is held by some that the city people usually determine or change the language of the surrounding villages, after first making them

bilingual. Yet the Turks gave their language to lands which contained many cities and villages. From our studies it is clear that Turks were town and village dwellers, except in regions where natural conditions imposed a nomadic life on them. Further, Turks were already in Khurasan and Transoxania at the time of the Arab conquest, and remained there afterwards.

The presence of Turks in Khurasan and Transoxania before the time of the Seljuks is recognized by scholars, but it is usually qualified. One maintains, "Almost all the subjects of this (Turkish king of Kabul) and other kings of Central Asia were Iranian, though the dynasties and armies were Turkish."[1] The consensus of opinion is that these Turks were mostly slaves or mercenaries. While Muslim sources are more important, they must be used in conjunction with Byzantine, Armenian and Chinese sources. Several scholars have contended that the sources are misleading and inaccurate, in the way they use the word "Turk." Gibb maintains, "The Arabic records are misleading by their use of the word Turk for all the non-Persian peoples of the East. They give the impression (due perhaps to the circumstances of the time in which the chief histories were composed) that the opponents of the Arabs in Transoxania were the historical Turks."[2] The "historical Turks" to whom he refers, were the subjects of the West Turkish khanate and the Türgesh power after 740 A.D. Marquart expresses the same opinion when he points out that it is an anachronism when the Arabs designate the Ephthalites as Turks.[3] By anachronism he seems to mean that the Ephthalites existed before the word or concept "Turk" began to be used. That word, as it has been used since its appearance with the T'u Chüeh[4] in the sixth century A.D., denotes primarily a linguistic rather than a political distinction. It is not likely that the T'u Chüeh, as Turkish speakers, were non-existent before they founded an empire. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that the Hsiung-nu (Huns), T'o-pa, and others were Turks, although the political role of these people ended before the time of the "historical Turks." There is good reason why the Chinese sources do not designate the Uighurs, Kirghiz and others as Turks (T'u Chüeh), any more than they should call the T'u Chüeh by the name Hun. For the Chinese, the political organization, or disorganization, of the "barbarians" was of more interest to the imperial court than ethnic relationships. The Arabs, on the other hand, encountered a mixed population in Transoxania with little political unity. For the Muslims, a Turk was not one who belonged to a political group of that name, but primarily a person who spoke

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[1] Hitti, P. K., *History of the Arabs*, New York, 1937, 208, note 6.
[2] Gibb, H. A. R., *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, London, 1923, 10.
[3] Marquart, J., "Eranšahr", *Abh. Göttingen Akad. Wiss.* 1901, 239, note 6.
[4] This, the Chinese term for Turks, will be used to designate the Western Turks of the Orkhon inscriptions.

Turkish. Even such a distinction was lost when the person adopted Islam.

The story of the Arab conquests in Central Asia has already been told by Barthold and H. A. R. Gibb. We shall only consider a number of items on the role of the Turks in opposing the Arabs. It would seem that the strongest opposition was presented by just this group of the population.[5] Barthold has indicated that the Turks whom the Arabs met in Transoxania were not the T'u Chüeh, but the Türgesh, as well as various local groups, probably some remnants of the Ephthalites.[6] There is evidence that the Turks dwelt in the valleys of Tukharistan, Badakhshan and Kabul before the advent of the Arabs. It is true that armies were sent by the *khaqan* of the Western Turks into Transoxania at various intervals, but the sustained resistance to the Arabs was borne by the composite local population.

The conquest began when Mu'awiyah was firmly established in the caliphate. In the year 54/674 'Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad, newly appointed governor of Khurasan, crossed the Oxus river and defeated a force of Turks from Bukhara before retiring.[7] It is not surprising that the military force which the Arabs first met on their invasion of Transoxania was Turkish, for we know that Turks had been active in opposing the Sassanids on both sides of the river, and were considered redoubtable warriors by their opponents.[8] Baladhuri tells how 'Ubaydullah attacked Bukhara, whereupon the *khatun,* the ruler of the city, asked the Turks for help. A large number came from nearby districts.[9] Tabari mentions Turkish forces in Bukhara when the Arabs were raiding the countryside.[10] Although this expedition was only a raid, Narshakhi, author of a history of Bukhara, amplifies it considerably. He declares that 4,000 Bukharans were captured when two neighboring towns were taken by the Arabs. The Turkish army was destroyed by the Muslims who secured much booty.[11]

In the year 61/680 Muslim ibn Ziyad, governor of Khurasan, raided Samarqand. He came to Bukhara and the ruler of that city was obliged to seek help from Turkistan, but the Muslims were again successful.[12] During the governorship of 'Abdullah ibn Khazim (64-9/683-8) Turks were found in the neighborhood of Nishapur. This may refer to the Turks mentioned by Tabari in his account of the revolt of Ibn Khazim.[13] He relates that the Turks attacked the

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[5] Gibb, *op. cit.* 73.
[6] Barthold, W., "Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften" Anhang zu Radloff, W., *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei,* St. Petersburg, 1897, 3-4.
[7] Tabari, ed. de Goeje, II, 169.
[8] Christensen, A., *L'Iran sous les Sassanides,* Copenhague, 1936, 368ff.
[9] *Futuh al-Buldan,* ed. de Goeje, 1866, 410.
[10] Tabari II, 170, 7.
[11] Narshakhi, ed. Schefer, Paris, 1892, 37.
[12] Ibid., 40.
[13] Tabari II, 488.

fortress of Isfād (Isghād ?) but were repulsed by the Bani Azd, who composed the majority of persons in the castle. Reinforcements were sent to the Muslims from Herat, and the combined forces defeated the Turks.

Musa ibn 'Abdullah ibn Khazim acted more independently than his father, whom he left before the latter's death, to seek the protection of one of the rulers on the other side of the Oxus. He came to Termez where, after feigning friendship, he drove the Termezshah and his followers from the city. They fled to the Turks for aid, but the Turks mocked them saying, "A hundred men came to you and drove you from your land. We fought them in Kish and will not fight these."[14] Later a large army of Turks did attack Musa but they were unsuccessful. From Tabari it may be seen that Musa was somewhat of a hero to the people of Khurasan for large numbers of Arabs and Turks joined him.[15] He was finally killed in 85/704.[16]

The conquests of Qutaiba ibn Muslim mark the beginning of the systematic conquest of Transoxania. It is impossible to mention all of the skirmishes he had with the Turks. Nor is it within the scope of this paper to deal with the struggles between the Muslims and the armies of the Türgesh, who played an important role on the stage of Central Asian history till the disintegration of their power about 739. We are more concerned with the conflicts between Arabs and Turks before the rise of Türgesh power in Transoxania. On several occasions when Qutaiba raided the Bukhara area he had to fight against the Turks. After the death of Qutaiba Türgesh armies did invade Transoxania and were quite successful for a time. In 721, Junayd, another governor of Khurasan, crossed the Amu Darya with a part of his army, with the result that he was severely defeated by the Turks. One of the ablest of the Arab commanders remarked, "No governor should cross the river with less than 50,000 men."[17] The defeat of the *khaqan* Suli by the Arabs in 737 led to the fall of the Türgesh khanate, but this by no means meant that the Turks withdrew from Transoxania, rather their influence increased.

After the fall of the khanate, Islam made great strides in Transoxania. With the adoption of the Muslim religion people ceased to call themselves Turks or Persians, but considered themselves only members of the Muslim community. Transoxania had a mixed population and the Turks were certainly an important element. Sughd, the Sogdiana of the ancients, was the most populated part of this area and, according to one geographer, many languages were spoken there.[18] Narshakhi relates that Sughd was first populated by people

[14] Ibid., 1148, 11.
[15] Ibid., 1160, 19.
[16] Ibid., 1153.
[17] Gibb, op. cit., 73.
[18] Maqdisi, *BGA*, ed. de Goeje, 262.

coming from Turkistan because they found abundant water and trees there.[19] While this is undoubtedly local legend it may be mentioned together with the runic Turkish inscription from the early years of the eighth century, found in Mongolia. There it is written, "Our forefathers and the Turkish people reached Demir Kapu."[20] The Byzantine historian Menander speaks of Turkish miners whom Zemarchos the ambassador met in Sughd on his way to the court of the Western Turks.[21] This passage is interesting compared with the statements of a historian writing in the thirteenth century, who tells of the articles produced and exported by the Turks. "In the province of Sughd is a mountain, the water of which comes to Samarqand. In that mountain there exist metals of gold, silver and turquoise. In the same mountain iron, mercury and vitriol are found, all of which are sent all over the world."[22] The migrations of the Ephthalites in the fifth century must have greatly contributed to the Turkish population in this area.

Abundant evidence is found in Muslim sources that the Turks who inhabited Transoxania did not flee to the east after the Arab conquest, to return with the Seljuks. On the contrary they increased in numbers and influence. The existence of Turkish towns in Sughd is mentioned by the Fihrist.[23] An early geographer mentions Turkish towns in the territory ruled by Nuh ibn Asad, the Samanid prince who was ruling in Samarqand in 819.[24] Mas'ūdi, speaking of the same area says the Turks have no longer a *khaqan* whom all their kings obey.[25] The city of Shash, near present Tashkent, was occupied by Turks who rallied to the aid of Rafi ibn Layth during his rebellion of the year 806.[26] Several years later they aided him in his attacks on Samarqand. In the time of the geographer Qudāma ibn Ja'far (d. 948) non-Muslim Turks lived in the territory beyond the town of Nushjan, sixty *farsakhs* east of Samarqand.[27] When the caliph Ma'mun granted fiefs to the sons of Asad ibn Saman, Yahya received Shash, the inhabitants of which were Muslims of the Ghuzz and Khalaj tribes.[28] The *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyat* records, "Some of the Turks within the territory of Khwarazm became Muslims when the Islamic religion brought happiness to these regions, and they accomplished good deeds. . . . Others called Turkomans left their own territories and came to the towns of Islam."[29]

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[19] Narshakhi, 5.
[20] This is a pass southwest of Sughd; cf. Orkun, H., *Eski Türk Yazitlari,* Istanbul, 1936, 1, 115.
[21] Menander Protektor, ed. Bekker, J., *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae,* Bonn, 1829, 380, 15.
[22] Ross, E. D., ed. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr ud-din Mubarakshah,* London, 1927, 38.
[23] *Kitab al-Fihrist,* ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, 18.
[24] Ibn Khurdadbeh, trans. de Goeje, *BGA* 6, 38.
[25] Mas'udi, *Maruj ad-Dhahab,* Paris, 1861-77, 1, 287.
[26] Tabari III, 712, 5.
[27] Ibn Khurdadbeh, *op. cit.,* 262.
[28] Raverty, H., trans. *Tabagat-i-Nasiri,* Calcutta, 1881, 28.
[29] Barthold, V., *Turkestan v epokhu Mongolskago Nashestviya,* St. Petersburg, 1898, I (*teksty*), 99.

It is well known that the 'Abbasids, beginning with Ma'mun, but especially under Mu'tasim, used a large number of Turks in their armies. Mahmud of Ghazna recruited Khalaj Turks from the regions of Balkh and Ghazna. Ghuzz Turks were also found near the former city.[30] There is ample evidence that Turks not only inhabited Transoxania, but they also lived in areas to the south of the Oxus river. Dahistan and Jurjan were inhabited by Turks before the Arab conquests. The Sassanian king Yazdegird II (440-457) built a fortress against their attacks, and Firuz (459-483) did the same.[31] The great Khusrau Anushirwan decimated the Turks and settled their remnants in various parts of his empire.[32] Jurjan was conquered by the Arabs under Yazid ibn al-Muhallab in 716. At that time the province was ruled by a Sassanian *marzuban* called Firuz ibn Qul. Although "qul" is a Turkish word for slave, it was frequently used by nobles and rulers, e.g., Nadir Shah of eighteenth-century Iran. The neighboring area of Dahistan was occupied by Turks with their leader Sul at-Turki who maintained headquarters on an island in the Caspian Sea. Firuz feared the designs of Sul on Jurjan and sought the aid of the Arabs. After a preliminary success Sul had to surrender to Yazid who proceeded to massacre 14,000 Turkish prisoners.[33] Other persons bearing the name Sul, among them the poet Suli of the ninth century, were descendants of this prince.[34]

Throughout history Dahistan has been the habitat of nomads quick to raid and pillage. The Turks of this district were not only nomads but they also peopled the numerous irrigated oases.[35] 'Abdullah ibn Tahir (830-844) built forts here for protection against the ancestors of the Turkomans.[36] The situation was much the same in Khwarazm. In the year 728, Turks are found in Kardar, a village of Khwarazm, resisting the Arabs.[37]

In Khurasan, Balkh was an old city which had Turkish elements in its population. It was there that Tarkhan Nizak maintained a long resistance against the Arabs. Chinese sources of this time say that the western boundary of the Turks extended beyond Balkh to Merv in 630 A.D.[38] Baladhuri also mentions Merv as the last outpost of the Sassanians against the Turks at the time of the Arab conquests.[39] The Chinese sources further tell of Turks living in Zabulistan, southwest of Tukharistan. The T'ang Shu says, "In

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[30] Bailey, H., "Iranian Studies," *BSOS* 6, 1932, 947.
[31] Marquart, *op. cit.*, 55; Tabari I, 894, 17.
[32] Nöldeke, T., *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, 123, 157.
[33] Tabari I, 1325, 8, Baladhuri, 336.
[34] Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani* 9, 21.
[35] Barthold, V., *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg, 1914, 35.
[36] Istakhri, BGA 1, 214.
[37] Tabari II, 1525.
[38] Chavannes, E., *Documents sur les Tou Kiue Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 264.
[39] Baladhuri, 350.

this kingdom live a population mixed of T'u Chüeh, people of Chi Pin (Kapisa-Begram) and Tukharistan."[40] Muslim authors confirm this. When Hajjaj, the famous 'Umayyad governor, named 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Ash'ath regent of Seistan, the latter had to wage war on the Ghuzz and Khalaj who lived there.[41] It is noteworthy that the Shah of Kabul had to send 2,000 Ghuzz slaves as yearly tribute to 'Abdullah ibn Tahir governor of Khurasan.[42] Rutbil, leader of the Turks in Seistan, caused much trouble for the Arabs, and his descendants opposed Ya'qub ibn Layth the Saffarid who finally put an end to that dynasty.[43]

In the area of present-day Afghanistan the Arabs came into contact with the Ephthalites whom they considered to be Turks. The ethnic nature of these people is open to dispute, but many clues can be found. In the fifth century Transoxania was overrun by a people called the Ephthalites. The chief sources for the early history of these people are the Chinese dynastic histories and reports of travellers. However, they give no definite indication of the ethnic composition of the people. Direct evidence from coins, seals or manuscripts is lacking. In the Berlin Academy of Sciences several manuscript fragments were preserved which had the same script on them as the few Ephthalite coins brought to light.[44] These fragments have remained undeciphered, although the alphabet was derived from the degenerate Greek alphabet used in Bactria by the successors of Alexander the Great and the Kushans. The names of a few Ephthalite kings are known from Muslim sources; one is called Akhshunwar, which word has been considered a derivation from Sogdian "xšavan" (rule), or "xšywn" (king).[45] The likeness with "Aqsungur," a Turkish personal name, has also been suggested.[46] It may be a title like "tegin" which was used by the Ephthalites.[47] The information gleaned from Byzantine sources while small is significant. Procopius says the Ephthalites are Huns, but they are not nomads, nor do they have the same appearance as other Huns.[48] The Byzantines used the word "Hun" to designate Turkish people, for they called the T'u Chüeh, Avars, Bulgars and Khazars all by that name.[49] The Arabic and Syriac sources refer to them as Turks or "Haytal."[50] The Armenian sources employ the same word, or variations, for the Turks who lived beyond the eastern frontier of Iran. Thus the Ephthalites, besides being called Huns (the name given to Turkish peoples by the Byzantines),

[40] T'ang Shu, ch. 221.
[41] Mas'udi, *op. cit.* 5, 302.
[42] Baladhuri, *op. cit.* 401, 9.
[43] Ibn Khallikan, trans. M. de Slane, Paris, 1871, 4, 302.
[44] Le Coq, A., *SPAW* 1909, 1049, 1061.
[45] Henning, W., "Neue Materialen zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *ZDMG* 1934, 584.
[46] Günaltay, S., *Ibni Sina,* Istanbul, 1937, 15.
[47] Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 225.
[48] *History of the Wars,* ed. Dewing, H., London, 1914, 13-15.
[49] Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. De Boor, Leipzig, 1883, 1, 245, 219, 315.
[50] Drouin, E., "Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites", *Le Muséon* 1895, 72.

were definitely said to be Turks by other sources. This seems to be a general agreement among all records on the ethnic composition of the Ephthalites.

In later times the Khalaj Turks occupied the territory once inhabited by the Ephthalites. Al-Khwarazmi designates the latter as ancestors of the former.[51] The Khalaj inhabited a rather extensive area centering around Kabul but extending to Bust and into Seistan.[52] Thus the Khalaj did occupy the territory where the Ephthalites were formerly found. It should be remembered that Islamic authors used the term "Turk" to refer to non-Muslim Turks, which does not mean that Turks were not to be found in Islamic territory. Rather for the Muslims there was no distinction of race, language or nationality in Islam. The statements of Jahiz of Basra indicate the role which Turks played in the caliphate.[53]

It is hoped that this paper has indicated: 1) there were Turks living in Transoxania and Khurasan, not merely nomads, but town and village dwellers; 2) they were present in this area before the Arab conquests and remained afterwards; 3) the Ephthalites were Turks, or contained many Turkish elements, and the Khalaj were probably the descendants of the Ephthalites.

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[51] *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, ed. Van Vloten, 119.
[52] Ibn Athir, *Kamil*, ed. Tornberg 7, 226.
[53] Jahiz, *Fadail al-Atrak*, ed. Van Vloten, Leyden, 1903, 29.

THE ARAB WOMEN'S CONGRESS

(CAIRO, DECEMBER 10-20, 1944.)

Arab women meet as a congress in order to raise the status of the Arab woman by studying her conditions and introducing some reforming measures; in order to find solutions for certain social problems of the Arab World, and to discuss and consider the Problem of Palestine.

Such were the purposes of the 110 delegates and ten auditors who came to Cairo from Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Transjordan. All came to share with their Egyptian sisters certain ideas and points of view regarding the problems of their communities and countries. Many and varied were the opinions and conjectures regarding the basic and main end of the Congress. However, the abovementioned hopes indicate that the Arab women never had in mind competition with men, nor did they meet to ask for their political rights only. The educated Arab woman of today is as conscious of her mission as wife and mother as was her ancestor before her. She is also aware of the fact that unless she faced life with man as a coworker and helper and unless she shared with him certain responsibilities and duties, her contribution to her country in particular and to the world in general would not amount to much.

Last year's Congress was the first of its kind. Though a similar Congress on Palestine was held in Cairo in 1938, it was not as representative of as many Arab countries, or of as many women's societies and activities. This Congress had been thought of for some time by various women's societies in Arab countries. However, it took the initiative of a woman like Mrs. Huda Hanem Charaoui to call it into effect and to back it by the support of the Egyptian Government and the King.

Huda Hanem Charaoui is a woman of impressive personality and great wealth and prestige. To her goes the credit for being one of the pioneers in the Arab Woman's Movement and Renaissance. She is the president of the "Egyptian Women's Federation" (Al-Ittihad Al-Nisai Al-Misri), a society whose birth and growth she has watched and nurtured.

Every country was to be represented by twenty-four delegates of the various women's societies in that country. The greater part of the work in Egypt was carried on by Huda Hanem's Society, *Al-Ittihad Al-Nisai Al-Misri*. However, quite a number of auditors represented many societies in Cairo. One of these was the *Red Crescent* which is doing excellent work under its socially-minded

president, Mrs. Sirri Pasha and other members of similar spirit. Another was the *Cairo Women's Club,* where the east and west meet and produce a tolerant cultural effect. Its president is Mrs, Hassan Bey Rashid, whose open outlook on life and high ideals contribute much towards making that club a success.

Iraq was represented by ten delegates, all of whom were either college or university graduates. Their president was Mrs. Tahseen Bey Al-Askari, whose knowledge and belief that the hope of the Arab World lay in the younger generation made her a very tolerant and understanding leader. Of course many commented on the fact that only one side of the Woman's movement in Iraq was represented. But is not this side the most sympathetic with the problems of Iraq and therefore the most active?

Lebanon's twenty-eight delegates came from the *Federation of Arab Women's Clubs in Lebanon.* This is a most interesting federal organization comprising twenty-eight member societies with more than two thousand members, representing the various creeds and institutions in that country. Founded in 1921, this unifying society of the Arab Women's movement in Lebanon has become a member of the International Council of Women at Geneva, and has a history of twenty-three years of active social service. The president is Mme. Rose Shahfé, one of the active women who has both nursed and helped the growth of the Federation. Many were the comments on the fact that most of the Lebanese delegates were older women and that the younger group formed a small minority. But does not this reflect a long history of active cooperation and work? However, the younger group of Lebanon should have been more fairly represented, and it is hoped that it will play a greater part in future congresses.

Palestine's societies and towns were very well represented, and both young and old felt the immediate call of the Palestine Problem. Their president, Miss Zlikha Al-Chehabi, is one of those women who have long and sincerely served their country and community.

Syria's seven societies were represented and led by Mrs. Mukhtar Al-Jaziri, whose logical reasoning impressed all those who came in contact with her. The delegation played an effective part, but it could have represented a few more towns in Syria and some colleges and universities.

As the women's renaissance in Transjordan is still in its infancy, that country delegated three women only. Their president, Miss Loula Abul-Huda, an Oxford graduate, is fully conscious of the needs of her country.

Though higher education for women in the Arab world is only twenty years old, twenty-four college and university graduates were active delegates. This group's cooperation with the older genera-

tion was one of the most interesting and healthy aspects of the Congress.

The *work* of the Congress was carried on by the following means:

A council, the back-bone of the Congress, consisted of the President and two other elected members of every delegation, one of whom was a secretary. This body of sixteen met every morning and often in the evenings. To this same body was delegated the power of planning the affairs of the Congress, the final study of the committees' reports, and the final draft of the resolutions.

A democratic attitude was adopted and various presidents of the various delegations acted as chairmen at different meetings. Age and youth, experience and education were represented on that committee, where all the problems were discussed and thrashed out.

Five different Committees, namely: Child Welfare, Civil and Political Rights of Women, Education and Culture, Health, and last but not least, Palestine, did a great deal towards making the Congress a success. Two representatives from each country were elected by their delegation to work on a committee, and to cooperate with their fellow-sisters in discussing and planning reforms and resolutions, before submitting them to the Council. These living organs of the Congress came forth with constructive ideas and excellent suggestions.

A series of Lectures delivered every afternoon at the building of Al-Ittihad Al-Nisai Al-Misri, was very well attended. The topics for study were identical with the names of the above-mentioned committees. A delegate from every country, as well as prominent guests, handled the same topic every day. Though the talks were too many, they were both interesting and well-prepared, reflecting on the intellectual attainments of the Arab woman of today.

The opening talk of every session was on the Problem of Palestine, a problem, the solution of which, is on the mind of every Arab man and woman. The addresses of the special session on Palestine showed that the Arabs had nothing in particular against the Jews. However, it was clearly shown that the Arabs had their hearts and souls set against making Palestine a national home for Zionism. Though some of these talks had an emotional touch and coloring, many were scientific and to the point.

Before commenting on the resolutions, or the major work of the Congress, I would call attention to the social side. This has certainly played quite an important role, and was a true reflection of at least one phase of the life in Egypt.

The Egyptians as a race are most hospitable to delegations on whom invitations are showered and generosities not denied. One cannot help being reminded of the ancient Arab hospitality, of which

traces and traditional practices are still existent in many parts of the Arab world. Yet a visitor in Egypt cannot help noticing at once that Egyptian society is made up of two classes: one a feudal class of extreme wealth, and the other a servile peasant class, extremely passive and ignorant, with a practically non-existent middle class between. The social consciousness of a few members of the upper class shows that Egypt is somewhat awake to her social needs. However, as the approach is not always carried on along strictly scientific bases, and as the greatest bulk of the population is extremely passive and uneducated, much is left to be desired in eradicating the existing social problems. Two pictures illustrate the prevailing conditions very well:

A princess invited the delegates and many prominent Egyptians for an evening in her palace. The grandeur and splendor of that palace, shown in the most exquisite draperies, paintings and furniture, to say nothing of the artistic and valuable golden candlesticks and silver plates, all enhanced by the richly dressed women, made one believe that the days of the Arabian nights belonged to the twentieth century as well. Not far away from all this luxury one never failed to meet the passive poor, ignorant "fallah," representing the other extreme of the prevailing order.

The Red Crescent Society, a very active organization with many golden stars to its credit in promoting the welfare of the people, invited the delegates to a picnic at Al-Kanatir Al-Khayriyyah on the Nile. The graciousness and generosity of the hostesses was a credit to any society. But that beautiful day was marred by the fact that, for the first time in their lives, some delegates were driven in trolleys pulled by *men*. In the twentieth century human labor and energy were found to be cheaper than that of animals and machines.

The difference between the two classes is great! Is there no remedy for this social disparity?

Many palaces and buildings reflect the glory and past history of Egypt. Great were the debts contracted by Ismail Pacha in order to erect such buildings. Yet what percentage of the population has been inside and has enjoyed the beauty and art of these buildings? What a challenge the Egyptian woman has! What a challenge every Arab woman has!

Towards the end of the Congress, the Council met two or three times daily in order to draft the final decisions or resolutions. Of course, there is still plenty of room for improvement, but these resolutions show consideration and thought as well as a high standard of intellectual attainment on the part of the Arab woman. Comments on some of these decisions and resolutions are in place at this point.

A Biennial Congress to be held in the various Arab countries was almost unanimously agreed on. As many such congresses will be taking place in the future, it is hoped that committees will be elected beforehand, in order to be able to have a more thorough study of the problems at hand. It is also hoped that the social activities will be reduced a bit and more time be devoted to work. This will also result in more economical gatherings and meetings.

The organization of a Federal Council for the various Arab Women's Federations, consisting of two representatives from each country, won almost unanimous approval. The general President, Secretary and Treasurer of this council were elected by the delegations; these positions went to Mrs. Huda Hanem Charaoui, Mrs. Ameeneh Al-Said and Mrs. Hafeeza Al-Alfé respectively. The drafting of the constitution was entrusted to the above-mentioned committee, who will in turn submit it to the various Federations for study, comment and approval within a period of six months. For the first time, religious representation was openly discussed and found to be a false basis in any representation.

The resolution favoring Woman's Political Right to elections, positions and equal pay with men, indicates that the Arab woman is wide awake to the fact that she has to face life shoulder to shoulder with man, and that she can play the part her western sister plays.

A great deal can be said in favor of the decisions taken regarding the Civil Rights of the Arab woman. Naturally these deal mainly with the Moslem Law or Shari'a. The right to divorce is to be granted to women as well as men, and no divorce is to come into effect without the decision of the court. This and the unanimous agreement to abolish "Bait Al-Shari'a," a bitter and sad aspect of the history of the Arabs, definitely sets a limit to the exploitation of woman.

The question of the custody of children came up, and here the woman's common sense ruled and not her emotion. The child is to remain in the mother's care, provided she is worthy of the charge, until the age of thirteen or fourteen. After that the court will decide to keep the child in the care of the better of the parents, a very good preventive measure against juvenile delinquency. This preventive measure has also been taken into consideration in the resolution favoring limitations on the powers of Orphans' Guardians.

The major decision to condemn polygyny except in cases of sterility and incurable sickness, shows that custom and tradition have become a second nature with the Moslem Arab woman. Perhaps, twenty years hence, the younger generation will realize that the higher values of life, such as love and sacrifice, are far more valuable than children and other materialistic factors, and then these values will be given a fairer chance.

Dr. Ali Ibrahim Pacha, president of Fuad I University, said that he would have preferred to see the Arab woman totally condemning polygyny and not allowing such exceptions. To him these exceptions meant a victory for the Moslem Shari'a. He also blamed the Arab woman for not raising the marriage age to twenty instead of sixteen, as marriage demanded maturity in every aspect. Here the woman's defence was her wish to resolve on things that could be effectively put into practice. For that same reason she asked for equal rights in inheritance and hopes to see it put into effect.

There is a great deal to be said in favor of the resolutions on Education. As illiteracy is one of the main social defects of Arab countries, the women appealed to the various Arab governments for a free compulsory elementary system of education, along coeducational lines, under the supervision of women teachers. This is to be supplemented by agricultural and industrial schools. It is all to be made effective by unifying (at the same time leaving to every country a local coloring) the systems of education in the Arab world. This last is definitely a great step towards eradicating the prevailing educational and cultural differences. No preference for a definite educational system was expressed, but it was agreed to have a new Arab system wherein the best in the western and eastern cultures would be applied and put into practice.

Home Nursing and First Aid were unanimously agreed upon as important items on the curriculum. If Civics and Comparative Religion had been also included in the curricula of the Secondary Schools, then the longed-for social consciousness and tolerance of the Arab peoples would have been well handled and easily taken care of.

As the simplification of the greatly developed Arabic language is on the mind of most educated Arabs, some members suggested a simplification by omitting the "feminine nūn" at the end of the feminine plural. The suggestion was to approach the Language Academy with more than one omission, not pertaining exclusively to the feminine gender. But this cautiousness to ask for one thing at a time resulted in unpleasant experiences. The Congress members woke up one morning to find themselves attacked by the press for desecrating the Koranic language and asking for equality with men. This was an unfortunate gesture on the part of the press, which misunderstood, or assumed to misunderstand the real aim of this suggestion, and by so doing, overlooked and ignored the essential reforms of the Congress.

The Health problem of the various countries was studied by special women. They brought an appeal for the founding of mobile clinics, public baths and restaurants as well as reformatories.

Quite unanimous was the demand for health certificates before

marriage; for the establishment of health and maternity centers, as well as mobile health schools, in both rural and urban districts. All this was to be made quite effective by good social legislation for expectant and nursing mothers.

The Child was by no means ignored, and it was resolved to ask for government literature on child welfare; for the establishment of orphanages and schools for defectives and delinquents; and for the founding of public libraries and gardens. An appeal was also raised for introducing a minimum age and wage law for child labor. It would have been better to abolish child labor completely but it was hoped that it would become practically non-existent when compulsory education is introduced. It was also voted to ask the governments to pass a law preventing children under sixteen from frequenting public places.

The issue of Morals came up and from the first all were in favor of abolishing legalized prostitution and white slave traffic as well as gambling and other objectionable public places. As the war was affecting morals, it was thought appropriate to call on the governments to establish bureaus to help find decent means of employment for girls, and to keep a watchful eye over them.

The Economic issue brought forth the decision for exchange of goods among the various Arab countries, and for encouraging industrial and agricultural exhibitions of native products.

The Political issues on the minds of the members were expressed in an appeal to the various Arab countries to cooperate in promoting each country's independence. Then the Congress expressed its support of the Alexandria Talks for a League of Arab Nations, and asked that this be soon put into practice.

The question of political prisoners came up and it was hoped that the governments would look into non-condemned cases.

Palestine was given due consideration, and the Arab women expressed their wishes for that country. They wished to see an independent Palestine with a parliamentary government of Arab majority. They also asked for the stopping of all Zionist immigration and called on the Arabs to support Palestine, both morally and economically, by forming a Palestine committee representative of and represented in each Arab country. The purpose of this committee was to work for Palestine, and to have information bureaus in the countries of the West.

Cables were to be sent to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States expressing dissatisfaction with their governments' pro-Zionist sporadic attitudes, and asking the two leaders to help the cause of peace by considering the Arab Cause in Palestine. The various Arab governments were to be

called upon to establish a big Share Company in order to prevent the selling of land to Zionists. A committee headed by Mrs. Huda Hanem Charaoui was elected to receive the various sums of money until the time when the Share Company could be put into effect.

Such were the resolutions submitted by the Congress to the various Arab governments, and in such a way did the Arab women overlook a basic social problem in their world—the problem of the veil. Has the already emancipated Arab woman forgotten her sister who still lives in the shadow of the veil?

Perhaps interest was too scattered and not concentrated on one issue. But was not this Congress the corner-stone for future activities to be taken up one by one, beginning first with the immediate problems of the woman herself?

A great deal is left to be done. A number of these resolutions can never come into effect without the governments' approval, but a good deal is left for the woman herself to do. Now is the challenge! How much will be put into practice? Time will be the final judge of the success of the Congress.

Yet, in spite of all this, the real *achievement* of the Congress is still questioned. If the Congress did nothing but call the Arab women together and give them a chance to become more socially conscious, by sharing their opinions and points of view on the various social problems, and by challenging deep-rooted cumbersome traditions and customs, it has achieved a great deal.

With the younger generation, the hope of the new Arab world, we leave the legacy of the Arab women's Congress.

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A MOSLEM CATECHISM*

THE NATURE OF THE MOSLEM FAITH

"Verily the (true) religion with God is al-Islam." (Qur'an 3:17)

Q. What is religion?

A. Religion is what God revealed by the mouth of His Prophet, of (Divine) Wisdom, such as the knowledge of the attributes of Allah, and Prayer, and Almsgiving.

Q. What are the essentials of religion; that is to say, the proofs of its existing in a person?

A. There are four essentials of religion, namely: 1. Right dogma. 2. True intention. 3. Obedience to duty. 4. Avoidance of error.

Q. What is right dogma?

A. Right dogma means obedience to the teaching of Sunna.

Q. What is true intention?

A. It means purposeful worship and wholehearted action.

Q. What is meant by the fulfilment of religious duty?

A. It means conforming to what God has enjoined.

Q. What is avoidance of error?

A. It means leaving alone what God has forbidden.

Q. What is al-Islam?

A. Al-Islam means complete acceptance of what has come down from Allah by the tongue of His beloved Muhammad (may God bless him and preserve him).

Q. What are the conditions of being a Moslem?

A. There are six conditions, viz.:

a. Having arrived at the age of full understanding (i.e., puberty).
b. Being in full possession of one's faculties.
c. Free choice (i.e., not accepting Islam under compulsion).
d. Uttering the two testimonies ("There is no god but Allah: Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah!")
e. Orderliness.
f. Possessing the ability always to be "near at hand and ready to assist."

Q. What are the foundations of Islam?

A. There are five foundations (or pillars) of Islam:

1. The Creed: "Lā ilāha illa 'llāh; Muhammad rasul Ullah."
2. The observance of (the times of) Prayer.
3. Giving the prescribed alms.
4. Fasting in the month of Ramadhan.

* Translated from text used in East Africa and at Aden.

5. Pilgrimage to the House (of Mecca) for him who is able to make it.

Q. What is faith?

A. Faith is belief in what the Prophet brought (i.e., preached).

Q. What are the foundations of true faith?

A. There are six basic principles, viz.: Belief in God; Belief in His angels; Belief in His revealed books; Belief in His prophets; Belief in the last day; Belief in God's decree of good and evil.

Q. What is the first duty of a Moslem?

A. The first duty of a Moslem is faith in God as Creator of everything.

Q. What is the proof that God is the First Cause of every created thing?

A. The proof of that is that the world has been made; and every made thing must have a Maker. And it is the glorious prophets (upon them be blessing and peace) who have shown us that the great Creator of all things is God.

Q. Is it possible to know God in His essence?

A. No one knows God but God Himself; and whatever idea comes into your head about Him, *God is quite different from that.*

Q. What ought we to believe concerning God in His entirety?

A. We must believe that God is perfect in all His attributes.

Q. What are the attributes of God in particular?

A. There are twenty attributes which belong to God, and they are: His existence; Pre-existence; Permanence; Unchangeableness; Self-sufficiency; One-ness; Power; Will; Knowledge; Life; Hearing; Sight; Speech; and that He is Almighty, Purposeful, All-Knowing, Living, All-Hearing, All-Seeing, and Speaking (i.e., revealing Himself to mankind).

(Then follows a definition of each of these Divine attributes.)

Q. What attributes are *not* to be associated with (the idea of) God?

A. There are twenty attributes which must never be predicated of God: viz., Non-existence, Recency, Transience, Likeness to external events, Need of place or created thing, Plurality in essence or in attributes or in acts, Impotence, Lack of knowledge, Death, Deafness, Blindness, Dumbness, or the condition arising from lack of any of the positive attributes. Far be all this from God!

Q. What is the correlative to God's being?

A. That He may do anything conceivable or not do it.

Q. What is the proof of that?

A. The proof of that is the evidence of our eyes; for we see that all possible things either exist or do not exist. Now if they were desirable they would not cease to exist; and if they were undesirable they would not exist. And God has said: "Thy Lord creates whatever He wills and chooses." (28:68)

Q. What are the names of Almighty God?
A. The names of God are many, but the best is the name of majesty, and that is "Allah" (God).
Q. Is the sending forth of apostles (messengers) obligatory upon God?
A. Nothing whatever is obligatory upon God; and the sending of messengers belongs to God's own free choice.
Q. What is a prophet (Nabi)?
A. A prophet is a man who is a free agent, free from all dishonour, to whom God reveals a Law (Shari'a) which he is commanded to follow.
Q. What is an apostle?
A. An apostle is a prophet to whom Allah gives a revelation which he must bring to mankind.
Q. How many prophets are there?
A. God alone knows their number, though it is supposed that there are 124,000.
Q. Who is the first of the Apostles and who is the last of them?
A. The first of the Apostles was Adam, the father of all human beings; and the last of the Apostles is our lord and Prophet Muhammad (may God bless him and preserve him), the sufficient (i.e., final) Messenger to mankind.
Q. How many Sent Ones have there been?
A. They are 313, or 314, or 315.
Q. Which among the Sent Ones are to be specially known (i.e., honored)?
A. The principal among them are twenty-five, viz., Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Zechariah, Yahya (John the Baptist), and Jesus, Elijah, Ismail, Elisha, Jonah, Lot, Enoch, Hud, Shu'aib, Salih, Dhu'l-Kifl, Adam, and our lord Muhammad, the Master of them all: upon them be blessing and peace!
Q. We know that our lord Muhammad is the greatest of all the Prophets. Who is next to him in honor?
A. The next in honor are: Abraham and Moses and Jesus and Noah; they are the first in importance.
Q. We understand that; tell us what is enjoined regarding the right of the Apostles (i.e., their qualifications for prophethood).
A. Four things are enjoined regarding them: Truth, Trustworthiness (or faithfulness), Vocation (communicating what they were commanded to communicate), and Intelligence (special insight).
Q. What is the meaning of their truth?
A. It means that they never lied in any of their utterances.
Q. What is the proof of their truth?

A. The proof of that is their miracles, such as raising the dead, and curing afflicted persons and lepers, and the gushing of water from their fingers (as when Moses struck the rock). For if they had not been true, they would have been liars; and if they had been liars, God would not have created for them miracles, in accordance with His word: "Believe my Servant in all that I send down by him."

Q. What is the meaning of their trustworthiness?

A. It means that God kept them outwardly and inwardly; even in such a minor matter as concealing what was forbidden (to them).

Q. What is the proof of their trustworthiness?

A. The proof is that we are commanded to follow them; for if they were not trustworthy they would be deceivers; and if they were deceivers, God would not have commanded us to follow them.

Q. What is meant by their Communication (Vocation)?

A. It means that they brought to men what they were ordered to bring.

Q. What is the proof of their communicating?

A. The proof is that we are commanded to follow them; for if they had not been communicators they would have been concealers; and if they had been concealers, God would not have commanded us to follow them.

Q. What is the meaning of their special insight?

A. It means that they could bring an unanswerable argument against their adversaries, and could convict their conscience with a plain utterance.

Q. What is the proof of their special insight?

A. The proof is that Almighty God chose them for that high function; and God chooses him only who is a prophet with special insight.

(Note: Here follows a section on the opposites of the prophetic qualifications noted above; it contains no new thoughts.)

Q. What is the meaning of (the Creed) "There is no god but Allah"?

A. It means that there is no true object of worship other than Allah, the Creator of all things; He is independent of all things, but all things need Him.

Q. What is the meaning of the utterance, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God?"

A. It means that Muhammad was a perfect man in character and attributes, sent to all mankind with a Law which abrogates every other Law; and there is no prophet after him (i.e., he is the Seal of the Prophets).

Q. Relate to us the life of the Prophet Muhammad (May God bless him and preserve him).

A. The Prophet was born in Mecca the Honorable (city). He was nursed among the Bani Sa'ad, by his nurse Halīma, the blessed, and he stayed with her four years. Then she brought him back to his mother (Āmina) and she cherished him until she died when he was six years old. Then his grandfather 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib took charge of him; and he used to say: "Let this child be a memorial of my son." Then his grandfather died when (the boy) was eight years old, so his (paternal) uncle Abū Tālib took charge of him, and he was a faithful guardian, and he loved him very much; so much so that he always slept beside him and never went out without him. And the boy was a great solace to his uncle, and he cared not for wasting time or play. When the time of food came, the (other) children came snatching their food, but he was content with what God gave him in the way of food. He was the best of his people in character, and the most truthful in narration, and the most trustworthy, and the furthest from bad traits which disgrace a man. So also he was foremost in manly qualities, and the most honorable in his dealing with others, and the best in neighborliness, and the greatest of them in forbearance. Therefore they named him "The Faithful One." (N.B. Mention of his middle years is omitted.)

Afterwards God sent him a mercy to the two worlds (i.e., mankind and *jinn*) when he was forty years of age; and he lived in Mecca for thirteen years after that event, calling the people to the worship of (the True) God; until he was given permission to emigrate to Medina the Bright. There he lived for ten years, calling men to (belief in) One God, the Creator, the All-Wise. So Islam spread far and wide, and the idols were destroyed, and infidels and polytheists were conquered. And Muhammad continued praying to God until His Word came: "Today is thy religion perfected, and My grace is perfected upon thee, and I have chosen for thee al-Islam as thy religion." (Qur'an 5:5.)

And the Prophet died and was buried in Medina at the age of sixty-three years, after leaving to us a great Qur'an, revealed by Allah—there is no falsehood in it from Muhammad nor from any of his successors. And he explained to us the pure Law (of Islam) by the most authenticated traditions and the clearest testimony.

Q. Describe to us some of the personal traits of the Prophet Muhammad.

A. The Prophet was a little shorter than the normal stature, and beautiful of color; that is, clear-complexioned. He had a large head, and beautiful hair. Of his hair and beard, only seventeen hairs became gray. He had a broad forehead, and eyes set wide

apart, and handsome. In the whites of his eyes there were (streaks of) red. The pupils were intensely black and the cornea intensely white, with thick eye-lashes. He had a high-bridged nose; rounded cheeks, that is, with no high cheek-bones; a broad mouth, and well-spaced teeth; a thick beard; a rounded face. His face shone like the moon at the full. His neck was like beautiful bright silver, and of unusual length (as Umm Ma'bad tells us). The seal of his apostolate was between his shoulders, but nearer to the left side, and it was a mole about the size of a pigeon's egg, reddish in color. He had large shoulders and a broad chest; his forearms and upper chest were hairy. He had long wrists, broad palms, long fingers. His chest and his torso were of the same width, so that his abdomen did not protrude. He had large joints, and hair from his breast to his navel. His legs below the knee were thin. His ankles were slender. He was well-proportioned in all his personal features.

When the Prophet walked, he did so with vigor, and yet his walk was easy and graceful, as he did not strike the ground with his feet (i.e., did not drag his soles on the earth). If he turned around, he did so all at once. He held himself upright, and did not lean to either side. His gaze inclined to the earth rather than to the sky because he was given to much thought. His laugh was a gentle smile. His glance was most keen; he saw things in the twinkling of an eye. When he spoke, light was seen to issue from between his teeth. His fingers were like wands of silver; his palm was smooth as silk like the palm of a perfumer; he would put his hand on the heads of children, and it was recognized among the children by its scent. His sweat was like a pearl for whiteness and like musk in perfume; those who describe him say there was nothing like it before nor after him.

Q. Describe to us some of the qualities (or habits) of the Prophet.

A. . . . The Prophet was humble in nature; he used to visit the sick, and attend funerals; and he loved the poor and the unfortunate, and used to make friends of them, and to carry their goods from the market to their homes; he greeted poor and rich alike; he invoked peace upon everyone whom he met, and shook hands with them. He used to ride on asses (a sign of humility?), and he listened to people's requests, even if it were for an oaten loaf. And he used to say: "If the foot of any man is guided unto me, I will receive him, and if I am called to him I will answer him."

He used to cleanse his own clothes, and to milk goats, and do his own services without false pride; and if anyone asked him for something he gave it to him or refused him with a gentle answer. If he visited people he sat down where there was room;

that is to say, he sat down in an empty place, giving everyone else a better and more honorable portion than himself, so that he accounted every man in the assembly more worthy than himself. Anyone who came to him, he did not turn away, unless he himself were sent away, and he never cut short any man's speech until he stopped talking. He enquired after his friends, that is, he asked about any of them who were absent; he requited to every man what was suitable in speech and deed; he held his tongue from (reviling) him who did not aid him. He honored those who were worthy of honor on every occasion, and was governed by them; his company was the company of knowledge and erudition and patience and good faith, so that the like of it was never seen. He never received anyone with hatred, and never retorted with evil upon the evil-doer, but he forgave them and pardoned them. He never once struck anyone with his hand, except in the holy war; and he never sought the shame of anyone, except when he feared the requital of the Lord of all creatures. He was the best of the people in doing good and his life from his youth was nobler and greater than any other man's.

Ayesha has said (of him): "I never saw the equal of the Apostle; he jested and spoke only the truth; he dissembled and only uttered what was correct; when he spoke his companions were silent, as if a bird (were singing) above their heads; and when he was silent they spoke; he waited for the stranger (to speak) and excused him for omissions or mistakes in his speech. He never rebuked a servant, nor said that he had done what he had not, or not done what he had done, but used to say, If he were able to do it, then he would do it. When he was asked to pray against the unbelievers, he only said: 'O God, I seek mercy; guide them into the truth, for my people are ignorant'; he was not rude nor ungenerous nor cowardly; he warned men and did not keep away from them; he never sat down or stood up without mention of the name of God; and he walked alone among his enemies and did not fear them, trusting in his Lord. And he used to visit graves and pray peace upon them and ask God's pardon (for the dead). He was steadfast of countenance and even-tempered towards his wives; and he never spoke in pleasure or in anger except what was true. When he preached, his eyes flashed and he raised his voice as if he were the leader of an army; but he did not become angry for himself (i.e., for anything done against him) nor revenged it. When he was pleased, his face lighted up like a moonbeam. He did not allow anyone to stand before him (while he was sitting?), or to walk behind him; for he used to say, 'Leave a place for the angels behind my back.' And no one called him without his answering,

'Your servant'; and he sat down to meat with bond-servants." (Thus Ayesha). (Here follows a long section on the food of the Prophet and his manner of eating; another section on his manner of drinking; and a third on his clothing and his method of attire, ending with these words:) . . . and (Muhammad) had a ring of silver, which he inscribed with the words "Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah"; and he used to wear it on the third finger of his right or his left hand, but usually on the right hand. And his bed was of tanned skins stuffed with coir; and sometimes he slept upon a woven mat, and sometimes he slept on the bare earth, without any mattress.

Q. Relate to us some of his most eloquent sayings.

A. The Prophet Muhammad was the most eloquent of God's creatures, and the most persuasive, so that his words laid hold of men's hearts. He used to say: "I am the most cultured of the Arabs." Verily the dwellers in Paradise speak with the tongue of Muhammad. And to mention only a few of his notable sayings: he said "Manliness belongs to him who loves (it)," and also, "The blessed (one) is he who is (well-) advised by another," and also, "The intention of the believer is more important than his act," also, "War is treachery." He said also: "The strong man is not he who conquers other people, but he who conquers himself," and also, "Trouble is the stock-in-trade of the talkative," and also, "All of life is good," and further, "A foolish oath ruins a man's house," and, "The master of the people is he who will serve them"; and, "Health and leisure are two gifts of God." He also said: "Seek help on occasion in silence; for every noble person is envied"; also; "He who deceives us is not of us"; and also, "The man who shows how to do good is like him who does it." Also he said, "You will never exceed men in their possessions, so exceed them in their character." "Bad behavior spoils a deed, as vinegar spoils honey." And he said, "Winter is the help of the believer (when Ramadhan falls during it) because its days are short when he fasts, and its nights are long, when he is awake." Also he said, "Contentment is wealth which does not decrease, and treasure which does not waste away." And also, "Getting the means of livelihood is half of life; and showing love to people is half of intelligence; and asking questions in the right way is the half of knowledge." And he said: "He who improves will not decline; and he who takes advice will not repent; and he who is careful with money will not be impoverished."

He defined a Muslim as one who greeted the Muslims in peace by word and deed, and a Muhājir as one who fled from what God has made unlawful. And he said, "Return good faith to him who

trusts you; and do not deceive him who deceives you," and "Breeding can alter (a man's) inherited characteristics." Further he said, "Two kinds of people will never be satisfied: the searcher after knowledge and the searcher after religion"; and he said, "A man's religious faith is not perfect until he desires for his brother what he desires for himself (loves his Muslim neighbor as himself). "The heart inclines to love him who has pleased it, and to hate him who has wounded it." "Whosoever loves a thing mentions it often." Also he said, "The man who is merciful will be rewarded by the God of Mercy; be merciful to those on earth, and He who is in heaven will be merciful to you." (Here follow other sayings.)

. . . In short, the Prophet Muhammad knew the Arab languages, and he preached to every people in their own tongue, and conversed in their own speech. And his speech was wise and effective, combining the knowledge of the ancients and that of the moderns: May God bless him and preserve him.

Q. Relate to us some of the miracles of the Prophet Muhammad.

A. The greatest miracle of the Prophet was the Qur'an . . . and as for his other miracles: He split the moon in two on the fourteenth night (i.e., when it was full), and . . . water issued from between his fingers into a little bowl, so that the soldiers drank from it and performed their ablution; and he fed a thousand people with less than a peck (of food). And he could speak to (or understand the speech of) trees and stones; and the bleating of kids was silenced when Muhammad called them to him. And among his miracles was the gathering of the earth together; he gathered one part upon another so that he was able to see the east and the west (at one time); and he restored the eye (of a defective person) so that it was better than his other eye. Also, he spat upon the eye of a person afflicted with conjunctivitis and cured the eye, and it never became infected again. And he prayed (for a person) that God would mitigate heat and cold, and he never felt them after that. And among his miracles, he prayed for Anas bin Malik, that he should have property and children and years; and Anas begat a hundred children and lived a hundred years, and his date-tree bore fruit twice in the year. And also he annointed the foot of Ibn 'Atik after it had been broken, and it was healed. He threw the unbelievers (i.e., his enemies) into confusion at (the Battles of) Badr and Hunain, by casting a handful of earth, and it blinded their eyes so that they were overcome; . . . and many other miracles too numerous to mention.

Q. Mention to us a few of the Prophet's personal gifts.

A. Among them are that he is the Seal of the Prophets and the best

of them, and the first (man) who left the earth and knocked at the door of Paradise, and entered it. And he is the first Interceder and the first of those interceded for; that is, of those whose intercession is heard (by God); and he is the apostle to the two classes of inhabitants of the earth, that is, mankind and the Jinn; and that Allah swore by his (Muhammad's) life; and that his heart never slept; and that he could see what was behind him, and could see in darkness, and he had no shadow, and that (insects) never lighted on him.

(Here follows a short section on Muhammad's personal idiosyncracies, of no particular interest, other than to prove that the prophet was in all respect a normal human being.)

Q. What are the names of the Prophet?

A. The names of the Prophet are many and notable; but the most notable of them are Muhammad and Ahmad.

Q. What is the genealogy of our lord Muhammad on his father's side?

A. He was the son of 'Abd Allah, son of 'Abd al-Muttalib, son of Hāshim, son of 'Abd Manāf, son of Qusai, son of Hakīm, son of Murrah, son of Ka'ib, son of Lu'ai, son of Ghālib, son of Fihr, son of Mālik, son of Naḍr, son of Kinānah, son of Khuzaimah, son of Mudrikah, son of Ilyās, son of Muḍar, son of Nizār, son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān.

Q. What is the genealogy of our lord Muhammad on his mother's side?

A. He was the son of our lady Āmina, the daughter of Wahb bin 'Abd Manāf, ibn Zuhra, bin Hakeem, the aforementioned (and then his ancestry is by the same line as on his father's side).

Q. How many children had the Prophet?

A. He had seven children: three males, Qāsim, Abdullah, and Ibraheem and four females, namely, Fāṭimah, Zainab, Ruqaiyah and Umm Kulthoom; all of them by his wife Khadijah, except Ibraheem, who was born of Mary the Copt.

Q. How many wives had the Prophet?

A. The Prophet had eleven wives (or spouses) and they are: Khadijah, Ayesha, Hafsah, Zainab, Hind, Juwairiyah, Ramlah, Saudah, Maimunah, Safiyyah and Zainab Umm al Masakeen (lit. Mother of the Poor).

Q. Name the paternal uncles of the Prophet.

A. The Prophet had twelve paternal uncles, two of whom became Muslims, namely, Hamza and Abbās.

Q. How many (paternal) aunts had the Prophet?

A. The Prophet had six paternal aunts, of whom three became Muslims, namely, Safiyyah, Ātikah and Arwah.

Q. How many servants had the Prophet?
A. The Prophet had one hundred and seventy servants, among them being Anas, Mārya and Umm Aiman.
Q. How many maternal uncles had the Prophet?
A. The maternal uncles of the Prophet were three, namely, Aswad, and 'Umair, and Abdu Yaghutha; all of them died during the truce.
Q. How many maternal aunts had the Prophet?
A. The Prophet had two maternal aunts, Fareesah and Fākhitah; they also died during the truce.

Q. We have understood so far. Tell us, what are the Inspired Books (which descended from Heaven)?
A. There are many divinely inspired Books; among them are the Torah of Moses (i.e., the Pentateuch), and the Injeel of Jesus (the New Testament) and the Psalms of David and the Qur'an of Muhammad (may God bless him and preserve him). The Qur'an of our lord Muhammad is the greatest of them all, since God has abrogated by it all previously Revealed Books.
Q. What are the Angels?
A. The angels are celestial bodies; no one knows their number but God. They do not bear offspring, nor do they eat or drink; their sole food is praise and glory (of God). They do not disobey God in what He commands them, but do His behests; God has given them power over shape (i.e., they can assume any form), and the ability to traverse far distances instantaneously; and death has no power over them.
Q. Which of the angels must be specially honored?
A. There are ten angels who must be specially known, namely, Jibrīl and Mīka'īl and Israfil and 'Azrā'il and Ridhwān, the Keeper of Paradise, and Mālik the Keeper of the Fire (i.e., Hell), and the two writers of Deeds, Maraqīb and Ateed; and the Two who make enquiry at the Grave, Munkar and Nakīr.
Q. What is the Last Day; and what must we believe (or expect) regarding it?
A. The Last Day begins at death; and every person who dies shall meet his fate, even if he be killed. And we must expect the questions of the two angels in the grave, who shall ask every one who has died regarding his God and his Prophet, and his religion—even if he has been swallowed by a fish or eaten by a wild beast (i.e., there is no escape from the questions)—except in the case of those who have been translated, like the prophets and the angels. And we believe in the punishment of the grave and its mercy. . . . And we believe in the Signs of the Last Hour, such as the

appearance of the Mahdi, and the Messiah the Summoner, who will show in his hand the list of souls (to be judged); and the descent of Jesus the Son of Mary, upon him be peace; and the entrance of Yagog and Magog, and the appearance of Al-Dābbah[1] to tell people, "O you there, you are of the people of Paradise; and as for you, you are of the dwellers in the Fire"; and the rising of the sun in the West, after the death of our lord Jesus (upon him be peace); and then God will send a wind to bear away the souls of the believers; and the rest of the people will remain for a hundred years without worshipping God.

Q. What will happen after that?

A. Then Almighty God will command Israfil on the wall to blow two blasts; and the third blast will shatter everything except what God spares: such as Moses the great Speaker, and the Bearer of the Throne. Then he will cause to die all the angels, and he will utterly destroy all except eight things, namely: the Throne (of God), and the (judgment-) Seat, and Paradise, and Hell, and the bone at the base of the spine,[2] and the winds, and the Tablet, and the Pen. Then God will restore the bodies (of mankind) as they were in their former state. After scattering them, He will collect them, like vegetation, from the bone at the base of the spine, by water descending from Heaven; and He will bring to life the Bearer of the Throne, and the chief of the Angels; and he will collect the souls (of men) within the Wall. Then He will command Israfil to blow the trump of searching (i.e., of judgment), and the souls will issue from holes in it (the Wall) by their numbers; and their bodies will re-enter the earth, then they will be separated from them. And they will come forth from their graves; and the first to come forth from the earth will be our lord Muhammad. Then mankind will be brought to stand in another world than this earth; and the sun will approach near to them. And all mankind will stand in accordance with their deeds, and some of them will be in the shadow of the Throne. . . .

And men will ask Adam and Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus to intercede for them, and they will plead their cause; and men will ask our lord Muhammad to intercede for them, and he will plead for them in the Judgment; and he is the Stander, the Praised One. . . . Then all will be brought to account, except such as are forgiven the half by their intercession. And the people of the Prophet will enter Paradise, a great multitude without number. Then will their deeds be weighed in the Balance, except such as are substituted. Then will be taken the

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[1] "A certain miraculous creature expected to appear in the latter days of the world," Redhouse.

[2] *vide* Lane, Lexicon, p. 1957A.

worshippers whose names are written (in the Book); and the people of Muhammad will be given the noble vessel to drink; a draught whiter than milk and sweeter than honey; whoever drinks of it will never thirst again.

After that they will pass over the Path, which is a bridge extending across the gulf of Hell, with its beginning at the place of standing (i.e., of judgment) and its end at the door of Paradise. And the first who will pass across the Path will be our lord Muhammad and his people; then Jesus and his people; then Moses and his people; then the rest of the prophets and their people. And after that (the souls) will pass either to Paradise the Exalted or to hot Hell below; and Paradise and Hell both exist at this time.

Q. Must we believe anything more than the foregoing things?

A. Yes, we must believe in all that the Prophet enjoined us, in all that the first Moslems enacted; such as the Ladder by which his body really ascended (to Paradise, during his lifetime); and in the lives of the Martyrs, who were killed in the Holy War against the unbelievers, in accordance with the word of God: they who now eat and drink and enjoy the delights of the Garden. And we must believe in God's purpose and power; that is, we must believe that Almighty God had power over good and evil before He created the world; and that all the worlds exist by the decree of God and His power, and every good thing and every evil thing is from Him, and that He is the source of all things. Even punishment is related to good with God, and related to evil with man and Satan; with God as a means of correction, but with Satan as a means of leading astray.

Q. Is belief in what has gone before obligatory upon students of the (religious law) schools and upon religious writers only?

A. Belief in what has gone before is obligatory upon all Muslims, male and female; and whoever does not subscribe to all the foregoing (teaching), his faith is defective.

Q. What follows from belief in the above teaching?

A. The person who believes and understands (will say): that he (the prophet Muhammad) was blessed in this world and the next; and, God sealed to him every blessedness.

We beseech Thee, O God, to bless this conclusion, by our lord Muhammad, the Seal of the glorious Prophets.

Glory be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, and may He bless our lord Muhammad. Every one who mentions him (in prayer) is the remembrancer, and whoever forgets him is the forgetful one.

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DOES IRAN NEED MORE MEDICAL MISSIONARIES?

The answer is definitely "yes," but one is immediately confronted by the cry from folks here in America, who will tell you how much the United States needs doctors these days, how in city, town and village it is very difficult to get proper medical services, and why not one doctor can be spared. There is some truth in their statement, for the United States has fewer doctors per thousand of population today, than at any previous time in this century. Before this World War II, there was one doctor for every 752 people; now, with so many doctors serving with the armed forces (and incidentally doing a very fine job), there is one doctor for every 1,500 people.

This does mean difficulty, especially in certain areas, where there has been no replacement for doctors who have been called to serve their country; it means waiting hours instead of minutes in the doctor's reception room; it means that when you call him to your home, you may have to wait five hours instead of one; it means that if hospitalization is necessary, you may have to wait several days for a hospital bed.

But, except in a very few cases, it does not mean danger, or loss of life to the patient; it means inconvenience but not suffering; it means delay but not death. Let us contrast this situation with conditions in the Near East, where, as you know, there is much more disease and suffering than there is in the United States. In Iran (Persia) of which I shall speak mostly, since most of my experience has been there, there is today not more than one qualified physician for every 50,000 people (population 15,000,000—qualified doctors 300; there are of course some others with very poor training, and very little experience, who are of some service to their communities, but who are not what we would consider qualified practitioners of medicine).

The actual number of available doctors is not the only factor to be considered; other items enter in, such as the availability of adequate transportation either for the doctor or for the patient. There are very few communities here in America, where there are not good automobile roads and buses and trains and even planes available to take the patient to the doctor or the doctor to the patient. In countries such as Afghanistan, without railroads, with very few auto-roads, it is often more difficult for a patient to travel fifty miles than it would be to travel five hundred miles here. During the years that we were stationed in Meshed we often had patients who had come thirty or more days *on foot* to visit our hospital, and although fortunately we were able to help the majority of these patients, there were always

some to whom we had to give the sad message, "You have come too late."

In the Near East, because of the lack of knowledge of hygiene and sanitation as well as because of the shortage of doctors and nurses, there is much more disease than is found in the United States and of much greater variety. Fortunately in this country, typhoid fever is very rarely seen, as is smallpox; malaria is rare and leprosy is so scarce that many doctors have never seen a case; that is not true in the Near East, where some of these conditions are epidemic, and many of them endemic. Our Public Health officials here in the United States, with the cooperation of nurses and doctors, have been able to reduce greatly the amount of "preventable diseases" (so-called) and deserve great commendation for their work; east of the Dardanelles, it seems that ninety per cent. of the cases we see are of disease that definitely could have been prevented had there been a proper knowledge of contagion and infection, and adequate medical facilities to handle the local situations.

Economic conditions have much to do with the amount and the type of disease found in any land. In well-fed America (I nearly said "over-fed") there is naturally less sickness amongst folks who have developed resistance against minor infections than in a land like Iraq or Transjordania where there is great poverty, and many, many go to bed hungry every night, having had some food, yes, but not enough! This is a great factor in infant mortality in these lands; Edgar Snow[1] in his new book, People on our Side, quotes some statistics which I published in 1924, indicating that eighty per cent. of the children of Iran die before the age of five. I honestly believe that these conditions have improved in the past two decades, but there is still a pathetic amount of unnecessary death, and avoidable suffering among the children of the Near East.

Not only in Iran, but in many other countries in the Near East, Health Departments have been established by the local governments, and some of them are functioning quite well. Most of them have so many problems in meeting local needs, that they do little or nothing for disease prevention. They have difficulty in obtaining workers who have had training, and who have the vision of decent health conditions for all people.

Proper housing is a great factor in disease prevention, and the one-roomed, often windowless hut of the Iranian peasant is not conducive to good health. The floor is usually of mud, the house is full of flies in the summer, and often, of fleas in the winter. Ventilation is inadequate, and the smoke from the open fire on the floor in the center of the room finds it difficult to get out through the hole in

[1] "People on our Side," p. 58. Random House, 1944.

the domed roof. Much of Iran is high plateau, and in the winter this region becomes very cold, and the family sit about their charcoal fire in the little brazier, and tuck the common huge quilt under their chins, and cough and spit in one another's face. If one in the family has tuberculosis they all get it; if influenza starts it spreads like wildfire.

American journalists[2] visiting our American troops in Iran wrote about the tremendous amount of disease among the Iranians, and state that in some villages all of the people had syphilis; this of course is an error, for Iran has, I am sure, no more venereal disease than has America, but here we have clinics to treat such disease to prevent its spread; there through ignorance, not through design, it may be spread throughout the town.

The Allied armies of occupation in Iran (Russian, British and American) have been silent teachers of better living methods and adequate sanitation. Intelligent Iranians (and there are many of them) have seen these army camps with screened windows and doors, proper drainage ditches with adequate sewers; incinerators for disposal of garbage; a clean water supply, and all those other factors which have aided in producing such a fine health record among the troops. American soldiers write back home; "The Iranians are such dirty people" but they do not realize that dirt is because of poverty (perhaps poverty is because of dirt, but that theory must be kept for another day); that when the daily wage of a workingman is only sufficient to purchase three bars of soap, then he cannot buy soap, for he must provide bread for his family. He cannot purchase water for his bath, for water is scarce and expensive in certain areas during part of the year; and he cannot afford to buy fuel to heat water for his bath during the long, cold winters. He does however have public baths, in every community, and he goes as often as his purse allows. The wealthy man has his own private bath available for his family, but the great majority (ninety-five per cent.) use these public baths, which in the cities at least, are under the supervision of the local health department. In one big city in Iran, there is a painted sign above the door of each public bath, reading, "In accordance with the regulations of the Department of Health, the water in this bath is changed every thirty days." You can well imagine that the man getting there late in the month might need a bath when he comes out of the bath! But this incident is not typical.

I write about Iran because of my experience there, but conditions in neighboring Afghanistan are even worse; it is truly a survival of the fittest, for the majority die in infancy, and if it were not for prolific breeding the nation would die out. As it is, with no birth con-

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[2] Blair Moody. *Detroit News*, April 23, 1944.

trol, and little self-control, these countries have a population which differs very little from that of a thousand years ago. That is *not* progress.

"Why" one asks, "should we furnish doctors and nurses for these lands?" The answer is simple: they do not have enough, and need our leadership and guidance until they can develop their own medical leadership. "Why," is again asked, "should that not be done by our government, rather than by the church?" Our government will give some aid, and has been giving some, but it will be only for a few years; the program will depend on world politics and the world situation, which changes so rapidly. The church on the other hand has a program for centuries, a program for all peoples of all the world.

It has been shown in the Near East that medical care given it by local doctors and national health organizations is far from adequate. As with government-supported health programs even here in America, there is criticism of leadership, there is political expediency, there is sometimes inefficiency, and (may we whisper it?) there is sometimes graft. In many of the cities where we have established medical missionary work, and have a policy of collecting small fees from all who can possibly pay, we find people coming and paying our fees, rather than going to the Free Government Dispensary. We ask them "why?" and they candidly reply: "Everything is so different in the mission hospital. Here we do not have to pay a bribe to see the doctor; here we are welcome and not pushed around; here there is an atmosphere of love and prayer." That is the answer, *a different atmosphere*. Our hospitals may not be as large as government institutions, nor have as many doctors nor as fine equipment, but *the atmosphere is different*. There may not be the "sweet odor of sanctity" but there should be the atmosphere of love, of service, yea, of Christ.

Some critic has stated that in the record of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ as revealed to us in the New Testament, there is an undue emphasis on medical details, starting with the conception, and ending with His death on the cross, and including all the various sick folk with whom He dealt. This may be a true criticism, for our Elder Brother was surrounded by disease and death and pestilence; His very birth in an unsanitary stable was not attended by any doctor or midwife; it was a miracle that He lived, for many first-born die in Palestine even to this day, especially those born amongst barn-yard dirt, with great curious crowds milling all about. Yea, it is a miracle that Mary lived, bringing forth her first child in such an atmosphere, without any medical assistance; many Jewish mothers died at the birth of their first child. It is a miracle that Christ lived, for He was hurried away on a long perilous journey when but a small babe, susceptible to disease, and probably inadequately housed and insuffi-

ciently fed for most of His life. He knew hunger, so spoke of the "Bread of Life," He knew sickness and His heart burned within Him for the lame, the blind, the deaf, the leper.

Thus we are not surprised that many of His miracles deal with healing, and that He gave instructions to "heal the sick" and to "cleanse the leper." Thus we can agree that it is our task to carry on His spirit and His teachings in our clinics and hospitals throughout the world; and especially in those very lands not far from the hills and valleys that He trod. The Moslems are a superstitious people, it is true; they are fatalists, and repeat often, "if God wills." This attitude of fatalism has done much to prevent progress in Moslem lands, and accounts partially at least, for the present conditions in these lands. We do not believe in "fatalism" if it means mere indifference; and we feel that it is the will of God that not one of these little ones should perish, be he Moslem or Christian, Jew or Zerdushti. We believe that the Near East *does* need more medical missionaries, that the men and the women there, and the children too, may through this door also, find the way to life eternal.

HARTMAN A. LICHTWARDT

Detroit, Michigan

Moslems Plan for Mosque in Washington

A plan of prominent Egyptians and others in this country to build a Moslem Mosque in Washington has drawn favorable responses from high Christian leaders in the nation's capital.

Announcement of the plan was made by Mahmoud Abdul Fath, member of the Egyptian Senate and publisher of an Egyptian daily newspaper in this country, who declared that Washington would be a "wonderful" spot in which to erect the new structure.

Fath made the suggestion after talks with United States government officials and envoys from India and other Moslem nations, he said.

The Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, Episcopal Bishop of Washington, and Dr. Frederick E. Reissig, executive secretary of the Washington Federation of Churches, both endorsed the suggestion.

—*The Religious Press*

BOOK REVIEWS

With the Bible in North Africa. By Dugald Campbell, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S. John Ritchie, Ltd., Kilmarnock. pp. 118. 9/6.

The author of this book is a great traveler in Africa and has written a number of books carefully describing the country and native life of the people in different parts of that great continent. In this, his latest book describing his travels in North Africa, he presents a vivid picture of the strange customs, difficult problems and terrifying dangers of travel in the Sahara Desert. Along with all this, he gives the continuous impression of one who is imbued with an apostolic call to service for the Master. Certainly no one with less than a profound missionary passion could ever have attempted the journeys that he here describes and the difficulties that he lived through for the sake of distributing the message of the Bible to the neglected tribes of Berberland.

His emphasis upon the importance of the Bible among a people who were once Christian as a means of preserving their faith is very sound. In this connection he points out: "Abyssinia and the Coptic Church of Egypt were in possession of the Bible, and though they were persecuted for adhering to its teachings they never lost their faith. It was, I believe, the possession of the Holy Scriptures that preserved them from apostasy and Islamization," and he firmly believes that "if the North African Berbers had been possessed of the Word of God, as we have it today, the light of the Gospel might never have been extinguished among them, and Central Africa might have been evangelized from the north by Africans instead of from Europe." With this firm conviction in mind, he has labored hard and risked his life to give the Bible back to these ancient Berber tribes.

MURRAY T. TITUS

A History of Early Christian Literature. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. The University of Chicago Press. pp. 324. $2.50.

This new work of Dr. Goodspeed traces the rise of early Christian literature from Paul and the evangelists to the Nicene Council. He states that for many the New Testament appears "as an island of religious thought in an ancient sea" but that it is the beginning of a continent of literature! He does not, however, draw any line between inspired and uninspired books, nor admit of such a distinction. The letters of Paul happened to win a place in the Canon, while those of Clement and Ignatius did not. The Revelation of John is only one among many apocalyptic books. There are many un-canonical gospels and "the publication of the Fourfold Gospel about A.D. 115" invited imitations. Among the latter, the Book of James and the Gospel of Thomas later on became sources for Moslem accounts of Jesus' childhood. The Gospel of Barnabas (so dear to the Moslem controversialist) is rightly noted as an Italian forgery of the 15th century. Dr. Goodspeed discusses the relation of the Acts to the apocry-

phal Acts and other religious fiction. There is an excellent summary of the Apologies, from Justin to Origen and Cyprian. But this scholarly work is marred by its radical viewpoint. As the *"Riddle of the New Testament"* states: "No history of the emergence of the Church is possible unless the critic is prepared to cut himself adrift from that which is most characteristic in modern thought and to move freely in terms not only of Revelation in general but of the Revelation of the Living God in a particular history" (p. 44).

S. M. ZWEMER

Life and Works of Ibn er Rumi: A Baghdad Poet of the 9th Century of the Christian Era; His Life and Poetry. By Rhuvon Guest. Luzac and Company, London, 12/6—. pp. 143.

This brief monograph on one of the less-known although celebrated Arab poets is true to its full title. It consists of four parts: an account of the life of Ibn-er-Rumi; a characterization of his poetry with translations of a dozen selected short poems; fifty-five pages of Notes in Arabic and English—the former are fragments of the poems; and finally, two facsimiles of MSS in the Escurial and at Cairo, with a complete Index of all his poems from the Royal Library at Cairo.

The poet in question has thirteen lines in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. These ten times thirteen pages give us a full-length portrait of the man and his work. Born at Baghdad, 221 A.H., he died poisoned by an enemy, 284 A.H. During his sixty-three years he lived a life full of wine, women and song. Outwardly he professed Shiah Islam, but was lax in manners and morals. He was not only fond of women of the baser sort, *qainas* (p. 43) and their debauchery, but "out of his own mouth he can be convicted of a vice that is not to be particularized" (p. 49). He made sport of orthodox Islam. In one poem he says that "if he had lived in the time of the Prophet, God would have inspired the Qur'an with his praise." He was gluttonous in his appetite but praised asceticism. He lived well by writing poems but was extravagant in expenditure. "One who knew him well says he was irritable, impatient and excessively superstitious" (p. 47). He engaged in constant bickering and exchange of satire with rival poets.

His works include eulogy, satire, *ghazals,* threnody, love-poems and didactic lyrics. He was proud of "his blasting fierceness" in satire and "in his foulness of language he does not differ from other Arabic poets of the period otherwise than in degree" (p. 56).

El-Ma'arri says of him that "his culture was greater than his wit." Others say he was the first poet of his age. Our author, after giving us these facts, writes: "In some of the poems, such as his lament for his son, there is a warmth and depth of feeling not to be surpassed and there is a ring of genuine contempt and scorn in his satire, doing something to redeem part of his worst grossness" (p. 60). Mr. Guest believes that Ibn Rumi's work deserves a complete edition of the Cairo MS, for philological reasons, in spite of the impropriety of parts of it.

Z.

The Missionary and Anthropology. By Gordon Hedderly Smith. Moody Press, Chicago. $1.50. pp. 160.

This little book proposes to show the importance of anthropology

for missionaries. Perhaps the author does this in the first chapter, where we read, "I wish I had known more about the matriarchal system before I had it thrust upon me in many queer situations involving our Bible school students and their relatives. When the woman is the head of the family, what place should she take in the church? There is bound to be dissatisfaction if mere men are to be allowed to run everything." And again, "Until I studied anthropology I did not know that our Radays had anything to do with totemism. If someone had asked me if totemism was practised among the primitive people of Indo-China, I would have said no. Now I know why the villagers at Buon Mewal have a huge platform upon which part of the sacrifices are placed for the hungry vultures which perch thereon and in nearby trees. . . . I did not realize that the vulture is the ancestor of the family. . . . Why do the Ksor people refrain from killing dogs? Because, I now realize, these people think they have descended from the mating between a woman and a dog. That is an indication of totemism." "The anthropologist's work is done when he completes his survey of social organization and culture, but there the missionary's work only commences."

In chapter II, entitled, What is Anthropology? the author presents an outline and a reading guide which should prove helpful to the uninitiated in this field. The next chapter, called Debatable Theories, seems a bit weak. Then follow four chapters on Language, which definitely overload the topic, and form more than half of the text.

The author presents a glossary of one hundred terms and a bibliography of approximately seventy-five references which are helpful. There are four plates of photographs which add to the general interest. The last chapter on Method gives excellent practical advice for the beginner in anthropological research.

The reviewer objects to such a wide use of dictionary and encyclopedic definitions throughout the text, and was annoyed by the frequent use the author makes of the word, "savage" to describe his people. However, perhaps the greatest value of the book is its introducing to the field of missions the word anthropology. That anthropology is needed by missionaries is generally agreed, and now to have a book issue from the Moody Press bearing this title is in the eyes of the reviewer a step in the right direction.

MORRIS STEGGERDA

Hartford Seminary Foundation

Religious Freedom in Orthodox, Moslem and Roman Catholic Europe. Part IV of Europe in Transition and number 8 of War-time Survey Series. By Alexander McLeish. London, World Dominion Press, 1945, pp. 64. Price 1/—net (50 cents).

This study is "a factual statement of prevailing conditions, mainly as they affect the position of Protestant groups" in eighteen countries of Europe from Russia to the Vatican City. The purpose of such religious situations in the predominantly Orthodox, Moslem and Roman Catholic countries of Europe "may help to reveal the com-

plex nature of the problem and to make clear the urgent need of unceasing vigilance in securing the largest possible measure of religious liberty for all. Dr. McLeish points out a cardinal truth in Europe as it should be a cornerstone of our program in South America and other parts of the world dominated by one or the other branches of Christendom, "Western denominational activities, in Rumania as elsewhere in the Balkans, offer no real solution. All who are in a position to judge agree that a radical reformation within the Church is the only hope for the country." Each country is evaluated religiously, which makes the booklet valuable for a clear understanding of each segment of Eastern and Southern Europe. This is made even clearer by a chart of 1938-39, giving the population of each country discussed and its religious affiliations, as well as two maps, one shaded for the relative strength of the various religious groups in each country.

C. L. PICKENS

This Is Judaism. By Ferdinand M. Isserman. Willett, Clark and Company, Chicago, 1945. $2.50. pp. 238.

The author is the rabbi of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo., and has produced this book in response to requests for a statement of Reformed Judaism. This survey consists of three parts: "From Primitive Semitism to Prophetic Judaism," "The Fundamentals of Judaism—its Theology," and "The Application of Judaism to Life."

According to the learned rabbi, religion is concerned with every phase of life. Dr. Isserman opens his book with the sentence: "Do you eat ham?" and develops the theme that eating ham in itself is not important, but that violating the will of God is important. He maintains that laws of ritual are not as important as laws of love and justice and that dietary regulations are of less weight than the belief in one God. The author considers the prophets inspired men, and he regards Jesus as "an effective exponent and champion of prophetic religion." In connexion with the Messiah, Reformed Judaism believes in no personal Messiah miraculously sent. Rabbi Isserman is tolerant toward Christianity, but his views have remained Jewish (p. 96): "Judaism could have accepted the humanity of Jesus, but to worship Jesus as one worships God was in direct contradiction with prophetic religion." The author regards the Gospels as missionary propaganda to convert the Romans to Christianity, and consequently the Christians' missionary pamphlets had to be pro-Roman and anti-Jewish. The book reads well, and it serves a useful purpose in giving the Christian minister and missionary the point of view of Reformed Judaism.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Princeton Seminary

The Jews of Kurdistan a Hundred Years Ago. By Walter J. Fischel—a reprint from *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 195-226.

The author of this article is a member of the faculty of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. He gives an interesting account of the visit of Rabbi David D'Beth Hillel to the Jewish communities in

Kurdistan (1824-28), and in addition to copious notes he provides the reader with a map of the region. The article should be of special interest to missionaries in Iran and Iraq.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Nusantara, A History of the East Indian Archipelago. By Bernard H. M. Vlekke. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1944. pp. xv, 439. $5.00.

In this absorbing book we have the first complete history of the "lands below the winds," with a full index, a chronological epitome and excellent maps and pictures. This is invaluable source material for those interested in Southeast Asia, savant or casual reader, all who wish factual information, interestingly written. Let not the term "Nusantara" dampen the ardor of the reader of this review. In the day when it is fashionable to use native terms for native wares, the ultra-modern way to speak of the Indonesian islands from Atjeh to New Guinea is by the Javanese term "Nusantara"—Empire of the Islands. To the readers of this Quarterly, Chapter IV, "Mohammedans and Portuguese," is the most important. It gives the succinct story of the introduction of Islam into the Islands at the end of the 14th century, through Malacca to East Java and then along the coasts by the merchants of Gujerat, northwest India and the Western Indian Ocean ports, and their influence down to the coming of Albuquerque on a crusade against the Moors. The influence of Islam on the cultural and political life of the Islands is found throughout the book and can be gathered by referring to the index. That this influence has been so potent has been recognized by the Dutch in making Leyden the Mecca of Islamic study for the western world, under the able leadership of Snouck Hurgronje. The book is well documented, with ample footnotes.

C. L. P.

Pelham, N. Y.

Arab Archery: "A book on the Excellence of the Bow and Arrow, and the Description thereof." Translated and edited by Nabih Amin Faris and Robert Potter Elmer. Princeton University Press. pp. 182. $3.00.

The art and practice of shooting with bow and arrow goes back to the Stone Age. It is known among nearly all primitive tribes and was practised in war by Assyrians, Scythians, Romans, Greeks, Chinese and European races. In the War of the Roses archery was the deciding factor at the battle of Crécy. It is not surprising, therefore, to find an Arabic manuscript on Archery, of about the year 1500, by an unknown author, in the Garrett Collection at the Princeton University Library. The author was a Morocco Moslem, the translator an Arabic scholar, now on the faculty of the American University of Beirut; and the interpreter, in notes, of these Arabian mysteries of bow and arrow is himself an expert archer and author of the article on archery in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Such a happy combination resulted in a most interesting and entertaining book, not only for those addicted to archery, but for Arabists and students of Islam.

The ancient writer begins with a prayer to Allah for blessing on Mohammed and thanks "God for granting me mastery over the minute details of archery and for giving me skill in its difficult tech-

nique." He believes, as all orthodox Moslems do, that "Holy War is one of the best forms of worship and is obligatory upon every believer individually, though it has never become incumbent on the whole community collectively." "Furthermore, the Apostle pointed out that of all instruments of war the bow and arrow are the most effective and the greatest." The second chapter is on Holy War as a pathway to Paradise and quotes the Prophet as saying "compared to it all the acts of worship put together are like a drop of water in the spacious sea."

There are chapters on the various and complicated technique in the manufacture and the use of bow and arrow, on the celebrated bowmen in the early days of Islam and on the various things an archer should know. E.g., "the arrow is moved on its flight by one of thirty-five things; six are imparted by the archer, eight by the bow, nine by the string and twelve by the arrow itself." Each of these factors in hitting the target accurately is carefully explained and does not seem absurd to present-day skill. The author tells of a sort of robot, a flaming arrow (p. 134) for incendiary purposes. "You mix some straw and cotton together and make them into a ball. Then you saturate the ball with tar and insert it into the hollow of the arrowhead . . . it will spring into a flaming projectile and will start a fire wherever it falls." There is a very interesting chapter (with two full-page illustrations) on Arabic finger reckoning—a sign language by the use of the digits of one hand, which the authors (in a footnote) believe extinct but which is still known and practised by Bahrain pearl-merchants. More curious information awaits the reader, on the various kinds of bows, on Arabic weights and measures, on knots, etc., in this altogether attractive little volume.

S. M. Zwemer

A Short Study of the Hindu and Muslim Minds and Their Reaction to Politics. I. T. Pitt. London, Luzac & Company. pp. 43. 2/6—.

The author apparently lived for some time in South India, close to the leaders of thought. Her study of the Hindu mind and of that of Moslems, in such men as Sir Mohammed Iqbal and Mahatma Gandhi is deeply interesting. That of the Hindu is Eastern and pantheistic; that of the Moslem, Western and theistic. There is no doubt that the mental texture of Islam is essentially Western. Consequently, the Moslem can understand the British mind in political matters which to the Hindu are opaque. The one faith is based on a sense of reality; the other on *Maya*. The one agrees with Christendom in a sense of good and evil; the other has no specific terms corresponding to these concepts. The author claims that the political utterances of the Congress party and of the Pakistan group betray this basic clash in psychology. Hence the tension. She also refers to Mahatma Gandhi's "inveterate habit of equivocation" and its tragic results. A small book, but thought-provoking and timely.

Z.

Netherlands East Indies: A bibliography of books published after 1930, and periodical articles after 1932, available in U. S. Libraries. Library of Congress, Information and Publications Office, Washington, D. C. pp. 208. 55 cents.

The heightened interest in the Pacific War is reflected in that the

Library of Congress has just published a bibliography of 208 two-column pages on the Netherlands East Indies, a territory which has been under Japanese occupation since March, 1942. Copies of the publication were immediately made available to the war agencies, according to the statement made by Luther H. Evans, Acting Librarian.

Despite its size, the bibliography does not attempt to cover all published material in its field. Its emphasis is upon current and relatively recent publications, and an effort has been made to include all important books and periodical articles, available in this country and published after 1930 and 1932, respectively. In each instance, a library or libraries in this country where the item is located has been indicated.

The bibliography was prepared by the Netherlands Studies Unit in the Library of Congress, and was made possible initially by a grant from the Coolidge Foundation.

Z.

Mukhtārāt Min al-Adab al-'Arabī: An Arabic Chrestomathy for Advanced Students, compiled and published by the Committee on Arabic and Islamic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. Washington, D. C. 45 selections, pp. 374. $3.50.

These selections of Arabic classical prose and poetry were prepared by teachers of Arabic in American Universities, to meet a long-felt need. Among those who had a share in the task are Drs. Edwin E. Calverley, Philip K. Hitti, Arthur Jeffery and William Thomson. Dr. Nabih A. Faris made the preliminary selections from which subsequent choice was made. Of those chosen from various sources and reproduced by careful photostat process, forty-two are in Arabic character, both voweled and unvoweled, in the different types used in North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Iran. There is no example of Chinese-Arabic printing, but two selections are in Hebrew character and one in Garshuni. Altogether, this book is admirably suited for advance students and should be used, not only in American Universities but in every mission station across the Arabic-reading world.

Z.

Planting Men, The C. M. S. Review of the Year 1944-45. By P. L. Garlick. London, Church Missionary Society, 1945. pp. 46. 6d.

The annual report of the Church Missionary Society is fine reading. It gets its title from an old Chinese proverb: If you are planning for one year, plant grain; If you are planning for ten years, plant trees; If you are planning for a hundred years, plant men. This world-wide Missionary Society ministers to many in Moslem areas which interest us who preach the Gospel to the followers of Mohammed. From Nigeria to Hangchow, Moslems and the laborers of the Church Missionary Society rub shoulders. May the planting of Christian men along the Burma road bring forth fruit in the years ahead.

C. L. P.

CURRENT TOPICS

Ikhwan al Muslimeen
The Muslim Brethren

In the early 1930's there appeared in Egypt a Muslim devotional society known as the "Ikhwan al Muslimeen." The purpose of the organization was apparently the cultivating of the religious life and the doing of certain charitable works. A correspondent writes that shortly after the outbreak of the present war, certain officials in the government saw in the "Ikhwan" a possible instrument for political action. Accordingly they invested both funds and organizational experience in developing this little-known devotional society into a full-fledged nationalist youth movement. Their principal instruments were young school teachers, many of whom were scout masters in village schools. The Minister of the Interior in the Nahas Pasha cabinet was reputed to be the organizing genius behind the movement.

By 1943 the "Ikhwan" claimed a membership of nearly 100,000 and boasted that it reached into every Egyptian village where there was a government school. It is difficult to judge the accuracy of these claims, but it is certain that the organization grew rapidly and had considerable influence. Boy Scout troops were often utilized as local "cells" of the "Ikhwan," and the activities of the organization were frequently carried out by Scouts in uniform.

The "Ikhwan" produced a number of pamphlets for free distribution. One of these that was circulated in Cairo in 1941 made the following points:

1. Islam is the final and perfect religion.
2. Only Islam can bring peace and progress to the world.
3. Muslim nations must return to the true practices of original Islam.
4. Every land that has ever been Muslim must be restored to Islam. This includes Spain, Southern Italy, and India.

The last point shows the political and nationalist character of the "Ikhwan" program. This character was further expressed in an "Ikhwan"-inspired campaign to convert Christians to Islam. In at least two instances Muslim employers of Copts in Cairo were approached with the "suggestion" that they give their Coptic workers two weeks to consider the advisability of embracing Islam. Failing conversion at the end of that period, they would be discharged. The "Ikhwan" backed up the "suggestion" with the threat of smashing plate glass windows of employers who did not follow their program.

It is apparent that certain government officials hoped to use the "Ikhwan" to create diversionary religious disturbances that could be used in difficult political situations. Many liberal Muslims were uneasy at the growth of the "Ikhwan" and openly voiced their disapproval of its program.

With the fall of the Nahas cabinet the "Ikhwan" have ceased to be very active but they, and similar movements, remain a potential threat if utilized by unscrupulous politicians.

"American Incomprehension"

"Fundamentally, it is well to recognize that most American students do not understand missions, even the most sincerely Christian among them. You find in them a state of mind most serious, a conscience believing in the rest of the world and in the necessity of resolving problems within a world plan; they recognize that the spiritual factor holds an important place in the solution of these problems; they show a humanitarian interest in the distress of the world and a desire to participate in 'reconstruction.' But these generous impulses and these energies are not always tied to a sound and dynamic theology, nor even to a real piety. They want to 'help China' but there exists a certain confusion of motives and all idea of evangelization or of mission remains a stranger to them. They are tempted to adopt the thesis by which one flattens out religious differences in order to realize political harmony. It is difficult to speak of missions or ecumenics, because you immediately run up against liberalism, and ecumenics becomes a synonym of tolerance. It becomes necessary then to speak first of the significance of the Christian Faith itself. There is need of an intelligent effort to evangelize students who think themselves Christians without having a clear concept of what Christianity is."

—Freely translated from the publication of the Student Christian Movement in France, received at the World Student Christian Federation office in Canada.

The Missionary Situation in Malaya

However serious the difficulties confronting Christianity through the Government and the attitude of the Malays, the policy of Christian missionary bodies has not been free from criticism. They are far too ready to assume that the Malays are too strongly entrenched in Islam to be moved, and that it is a waste of time and effort to attempt it. To accept this position is essentially to deny the conviction that the Christian message is for all peoples. The ease with which the Christian message can be presented to the adherents of other religions is too frequently contrasted with the difficulty of presenting it to the Muslims to be conducive to wholehearted effort to win them. The greater difficulty should present the greater challenge, unless the workers of to-day have lost the vigour of their predecessors. At any rate, this attitude is unfortunate and unhealthy, for it constitutes a tacit admission of defeat.

Islam offers the Malays the assured intercession of Muhammad and a happy life beyond the grave. It also offers great social advantages, especially in the genuine brotherhood of Muslims. For these things the Malay is profoundly grateful, and because of it he has given Islam his loyalty.

But Islam has offered nothing of value which Christianity is not qualified to provide. *The great obstacle to success in the evangelization of the Malays, however, lies in the realm of attitude, not in the realm of theoretical advantages. Until we can show the Malays that our interest in them is genuine and can be supported by practical manifestations of Christian love and fellowship, that we want them in our Christian brotherhood for their own sakes,* our protestations

of greater spiritual truth and advantages will have little effect. The Malays will continue in their conviction that Christianity is interested chiefly in mundane victories and that their brightest prospects are with Islam, where they have an assured place and a secure hope.

R. A. BLASDELL
in the *International Review of Missions*

Unparalleled Opportunity in Malaya

Another writer in the *International Review of Missions,* Raymond L. Archer, speaks of the post-war conditions in optimistic terms:

The educated Asiatics may be much more vocal in their demands for a larger share in the government of the country, especially the Indians and the Chinese. Before the war began both the Dutch and the British had set in motion policies which were making it possible for the Asiatics to have an increasing voice in the ruling bodies of the land. A study of the increasing influence of the People's Council (Volksraad) in the Netherlands East Indies, in which the Asiatic members outnumbered the European, and the new civil service programme in Malaya, reveal positive evidence of a healthy trend towards increased participation in the offices of the civil government by Asiatic representatives who will take the trouble to qualify. After this area has been freed from the Japanese there is no doubt but that in the various native Malay States the Asiatics will come into positions of even greater authority and responsibility. The spread of literacy among the Muslims, the rapid advance of western education among all classes of Asiatics and the leaven resulting from growing and vital Christian communities throughout the whole area present an almost unparalleled opportunity as well as a challenge to the Christian churches in the West. The forward-looking Asiatics in Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies are ready for sympathetic co-operation in a manner which the Church of Christ cannot ignore.

"Two by Two"

Bishop Thompson of Iran writes:

"The colporteur often has a very lonely time of it when on itineration in the district. He must often wish for a friend with whom to share experiences, meet difficulties and dangers, and have Christian fellowship. In Iran a very happy custom is growing up of a church worker accompanying the colporteur on some of his tours round the town or in the villages. We are finding by experience that it is of the greatest help to all concerned when such itinerations can be arranged. Such 'combined operations' are usually much more profitable in every way than when the colporteur goes off alone to sell his books and the church worker goes out on his own for an evangelistic tour.

"The experienced colporteur is or should be the Church's expert in this kind of work. It is a great pity if his experience is not available for the help and inspiration of the rest of the Church. The colporteur on his part gains much from realizing that he is the Church's representative in the work he is doing.

"Our Lord sent out His disciples 'two by two' into the villages. His is the ideal method. Many more books can be carried and two

together can accomplish more than double what one can do alone. Sometimes a voluntary worker will go with him. It is a great encouragement for an inexperienced evangelist to go out with a colporteur and see how he works. He can study the kind of objections raised and how to meet them. A voluntary worker will often be willing to go out with someone else when he would not feel able to go alone. The greater experience which the colporteur has in this kind of work may often be a great help in the education of other Christians and encouraging them to do similar work. It takes not only considerable physical effort to go out on foot carrying a bag of books, or perhaps bicycling miles over rough roads or through heavy sand, but it also takes a lot of moral courage to go out and do this kind of work.

"The colporteur may get mixed up in an argument on some theological point or on some passage of Scripture, and then it is of the greatest help to have someone beside him to assist. If trouble is met with on the way from officials or anyone else who wants to cause a disturbance, the situation can be more easily faced with a friend. And trouble may always be round the corner in Iran. Not long ago one of our Irani clergy was out with one of the colporteurs when they were suddenly arrested and clapped into prison—a very dark and dirty little room. The padre had with him a lantern which he almost always takes about with him, as he is a great believer in the use of pictures as a means of evangelism. He soon made friends with his captors and before long he was showing them the pictures. Then books were produced and given, and the men were set free."

On the So-Called Sacredness of Al Hejaz

"Al Hidjaz is a territory in Arabia on the Red Sea, with indefinite boundaries, which is at once understood when we reflect that the word *hidjaz* means 'barrier' and is applied in Arab topography to the mountains of Sarat, which shut off the highlands (Nedjd) from the flat coastlands (Tihama). As the name of a district, Hidjaz is limited to that part of the west coast which does not belong to Yemen, to be more exact, to that stretch of land which extends from 'Akra to al-Lith on the Red Sea with the corresponding hinterland. Neither the highlands of 'Asir in the south nor the ancient land of Madyan and Hisma in the north belongs to the Hidjaz proper, although they are often included in it. In the Turkish administrative system, the Hidjaz is a vilayet whose capital is Mecca, and is divided into three sanjaks, Mecca, Medina and Djidda. Although this division was never actually carried out in detail and the Turkish institutions and officers existed for the most part on paper only, it is useful as establishing the area of the Hidjaz proper. Recently, however, the Porte has made the sanjak of Medina into an independent *mutasarriflik* which is governed by the Shaikh al-Haram and Muhafiz, the commander of the Turkish troops." (Encyclopaedia of Islam.)

It is clear from this statement that the boundaries of the territory known as Hejaz are quite indefinite. In the second place, never at any time was the entire Hejaz considered sacred. Haramein is the technical term used and refers to the two sacred cities, Mecca and Medina with their immediate environment.

"It is a rule laid down in the Koran and confirmed by many traditions that the sacred territory enclosing the birth-place and the tomb of the prophet shall not be polluted by the visits of infidels. 'O believers! only those are unclean who join other gods with God! Let them not therefore after this their year come near the Sacred Mosque.' Mohammed is reported to have said of Mecca, 'What a splendid city thou art, if I had not been driven out of thee by my tribe I would dwell in no other place but in thee. It is not man but God who has made Mecca sacred. My people will be always safe in this world and the next as long as they respect Mecca.' "

The sacred boundaries of Mecca and Medina not only shut out all unbelievers, but they make special demands of "purity and holiness" (in the Moslem sense) on the part of the true believers. According to tradition it is not lawful to carry weapons or to fight within the limits of the Haramein. Its grass and thorns must not be cut nor must its game be molested. Some doctors of law hold that these regulations do not apply to Medina, but others make the burial-place of the prophet equally sacred with the place of his birth. The boundaries of this sacred territory are rather uncertain. Abd ul Hak says that when, at the time of the rebuilding of the Kaaba, Abraham, the friend of God, placed the Black Stone, its east, west, north and south sides became luminous, and wherever the light extended, became the boundaries of the sacred city! These limits are now marked by pillars of masonry, except on the Jiddah and Jairanah road where there is some dispute as to the exact boundary.

The sacred territory of Medina is ten or twelve miles in diameter, from Jebel 'Air to Saoor. Outside of these two centres all of the province of Hejaz is legally accessible to infidels, but the fanaticism of centuries has practically made the whole region round Mecca and Medina forbidden territory to any but Moslems. In Jiddah, Christians are tolerated because of necessity, but were the Mullahs of Mecca to have their way not a Frankish merchant or consul would reside there for a single day.

Since the bombardment of Jiddah by the British in 1853, Europeans have resided in that port and have freely carried on trade and commerce. Non-Moslems have resided at Yenbo, a part of Medina, as well. Before the first World War missionaries repeatedly visited Jiddah without interference, and the British and Foreign Bible Society had an agent resident there for some months in 1914. There is no religious or legal authority for claiming the whole of Hejaz as sacred territory in the sense that a Christian missionary is prevented from carrying on his work as such. Of course, this is not true of Mecca and Medina. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that both Mecca and Medina have been visited by non-Moslems who went as travellers and explorers in disguise as Moslems.

In addition to all this, the history of Mecca proves that Christians have again and again been invited to the city in their capacity as skilled artisans to repair the Kaaba, to construct aqueducts, etc. The story of the penetration of Mecca by Christian explorers is told in an interesting little book by Augustus Ralli entitled "Christians at Mecca" published some years ago.

Z.

Dr. Amir Ali of Hyderabad on Missions

At the Annual Convocation of the Methodist Church, Hyderabad, a friendly Moslem gave an address (*Indian Witness,* Feb. 22, 1945) in which his concluding remarks give one furiously to think:

"Please do not misunderstand me. I have no objection to any number of Hindus or Mussalmans becoming Christians if they wish to do so. But it is the *effort* of making Rajayah or Abdulla into John which I object to. And that chiefly because by merely such conversion the missionary and the outside world is likely to obtain the false satisfaction of his having done good, and having helped the number of Christians to increase. Mere multiplication of this kind lowers the status of Christians and degrades Christianity.

"The great call to the Missionaries of the Future is to search in their heart for their real mission. To give to the word a more vital orientation. To associate it with service, irrespective of caste or creed rather than with evangelization.

"And this is not a new departure. The educational, the medical and the Y. M. C. A. activities which I have mentioned are already nonsectarian and non-evangelistic. It is the development of these which is called for. Let Missions carry on literacy campaigns, let them introduce on a wide scale the educational film. Let them organize travelling dispensaries. Let them help in better farming, better business and better living. Let them offer their co-operation to Government and lay their resources of technically qualified men in establishing model farms, dairies, cattle and poultry farms. The chief problem of India is that of hunger. Let them help in solving that problem of problems. Let them take an active part in the Co-operative movement. The Hyderabad Government is bound to be short of suitable men for all this kind of work in the post-war period. There is no reason why they should not meet the Mission half way in sponsoring this joint effort. And let us together make Hyderabad a garden in which there are Christians and Muslims and Hindus all blending our colours like roses and jasmines and lilies in a garden—and each in its fullest bloom.

"This, ladies and gentlemen, is how a Hyderabadi looks at Christian Missions and this is what he expects from them. May He, who has, in countless aeons, evolved Humanity, help you and me in achieving this ideal."

Arabian Singer Gives Recital to New York Audience

Songs and song-stories of Arabia were presented yesterday afternoon at Times Hall by Wadeeha Atiyeh, Arabian singer and dramatist, in costume and with a Near Eastern stage setting. She was assisted by three Arabian men instrumentalists, playing the oud, the kanoon and the durbekki, the first a large mandolin-like instrument, related to the European lute, the second a zither-like instrument and the last a small drum.

Miss Atiyeh sang and told Arabian songs and stories, each number being a combination of music and spoken drama. The first was the Mohammedan call to prayer at daybreak, chanted and sung by the performer in Arabian costume, although with her face uncovered, in the way only recently permitted. In this number Miss Atiyeh

showed a rich mezzo-soprano voice, pleasingly used in the Oriental manner, with the Arabian modes. These modes were further in evidence in the "Schéhérazade" song-story that followed and in "Two Little Songs of Lebanon" in the second half of the program, as were the frequent use of the augmented second, the drawling of the scale and the ornamentation of the melody. The listener was able to get an authentic idea of the music of the Near East as well as of the general cultural background. The songs were sung both in Arabic and English—perfect English.

Miss Atiyeh's dramatic art was quite equal to her musical skill.

—*New York Times,* Feb. 29, 1945

A Visit to the Turkish Parliament

Mr. J. Bell in the *Asiatic Review* gives a lively sketch of his recent visit to the Parliament at Ankara, which we share in part with our readers:

"It is strongly reminiscent of the British House of Commons. There are 455 Deputies. They are seated at desks covered with official papers. Few of the Deputies are under forty-five years of age. Messengers are entering and leaving the House continuously. Here and there a member leaves his desk and holds a whispered conversation with another member. Women Deputies look stately and efficient and give the onlooker the impression that they realize to the full that the destiny of the Turkish Republic is partly in their hands. The hands of the clock point to fifteen hours. Without any ceremony whatever the President of the Chamber enters and takes the 'chair.' In the British House of Commons the President of the Chamber is the Speaker. He is dressed in black robes and wears a long grey wig hanging down to his shoulders. His office is surrounded with great outward dignity, and before him on the table rests the historic 'mace,' his symbol of authority. All this outward seeming is absent in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies.

* * * * * * *

"The arrangement of the Turkish Parliament is very simple. In front of the President and extending the full length of the Chamber are rows of desks with aisles between. The desks are arranged to accommodate three Deputies at each desk. Behind the President's chair are several secretaries busy at their respective tasks. On the President's left are benches which are occupied by the Prime Minister and his Ministerial colleagues.

"There is no official opposition in the Turkish Parliament. It is true the People's Party, a body of some Party Deputies, exercise what might be called a watching brief. This Party meets weekly and subjects all Parliamentary business to a keen scrutiny. Should it disapprove of any measure coming before the House it might at any time offer a united opposition. Nevertheless, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is composed of all the Deputies, who are elected in conformity with special laws. The election takes place normally once every four years, and the whole Assembly is the sole and real representative of the nation, and in the name of the nation it exercises sovereignty. Each Deputy, therefore, is not only the representa-

tive of the constituency or district which elected him or her but also of the whole nation.

"The President of the Republic of Turkey is the head of the State, and in this capacity presides over the Assembly on special occasions and over the Council of Ministers when he deems this necessary.

"The Prime Minister is chosen by the President of the Republic from among the members of the Assembly. The other Ministers are chosen by the Prime Minister from among the members of the Assembly. After these members of the Council have been approved by the President they are presented to the Assembly, and the new Government presents its programme to the Assembly and asks for its confidence, and thus under the presidency of the Prime Minister they constitute the Council of Ministers or Cabinet.

"The Grand National Assembly, of course, may always exercise control of the Government and cause it to fall at any time.

"On the occasion of my visit to the Turkish Parliament the debate on the annual budget was in progress, and in this instance the procedure was in the main similar to that of the British Parliament. Deputy after Deputy was called by the President of the Chamber. On hearing his name mentioned the Deputy in question left his seat and went to a desk or rostrum fitted with a microphone. From there he made his speech. Sometimes applause broke out, or laughter, at something the Deputy said. Each speaker was treated with the same deference and quiet dignity."

A New Society for Mohammedan Missions

A Society for the Promotion of Mohammedan Missions has been organized by the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church. In the first number of its publication, "The Minaret," we read: "The Society for Mohammedan Missions wants to bring this greatest of all missionary problems before the eyes of the Church, and it wants to move the Church to action through its existing agencies. Surely it should not be too hard to see that the Great Missionary Command is not confined to the heathen world, but that it includes the Mohammedan world as well. We cannot claim to have fulfilled our missionary obligation if we shy from the Mohammedan missionary problem, as if it were too difficult and not our concern. . . . We send out the 'Minaret' with the prayer that God bless its pages. May it contribute its share to the fulfillment of Abraham's prayer, 'O that Ishmael might live before Thee.' "

In recognition of his interest in the work of this new Society, and his valuable contribution, by voice and pen, to its success, Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer has been made an Honorary Member.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Arabic Edition of the British Council Map. Joseph Schacht. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. November-December, 1944. pp. 199-202).

Covers Europe and the Middle East.

Brigadier Kisch of the Eighth Army. Mark Krug. (In the *Contemporary Jewish Record,* New York. June, 1945. pp. 282-289).

An account of the life, work and brave death of Frederick H. Kisch, active for twenty years in Jewish-Arab affairs in Palestine.

Exploring the Jordan and Dead Sea with the U. S. Navy. Raymond S. Haupert. (In the *Crozer Quarterly,* Chester, Pa. July, 1945. pp. 226-241).

Tells of an expedition undertaken in 1848 by Lieut. William Francis Lynch and a company of young, adventurous American navy officers and seamen.

Vocabulary of Bedouin Words concerning Horses. Carl R. Raswan. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. April, 1945. pp. 97-129).

A contribution to the study of the modern Bedouin language, derived from nineteen tribes and collected for twenty-six years.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Influence of the Slaves in the Muslim Administration of India. Dharam Pal. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1944. pp. 409-417).

The social equality taught by the Koran permitted slavery, so deleterious in the Greek and Roman civilizations, to be beneficial to the Moslems, through allowing able slaves to rise to places of prominence.

Monuments of Mussulman Culture in Uzbekistan. Tashmuhamed Kariniyasov. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1945. pp. 187-188).

The U.S.S.R. is diligent in research, preservation and restoration of the Early Moslem treasures, such as the Madrassah in Samarkand and the Porcelain Palace of Ulug Bek.

The Mughal Empire and the Middle Class. Wilfred Cantwell Smith. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1944. pp. 349-363).

Presents the hypothesis that during its most flourishing period the Empire rested on middle class commerce as an important base, second only to its feudal dependence on land.

WHO WERE THE SARACENS? C. C. R. Murphy. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1945. pp. 188-190).

A study of the name "Saracen" or "Sarakaje," tracing it to the Aramaic root *srak,* meaning empty and therefore desert.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

IQBAL'S POLITICAL THEORY. Muḥammad Aziz Aḥmad. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1944. pp. 377-393).

An article on the Muslim Millat as described in the writings of Iqbal, referring mainly to his "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam."

THE MUSLIM THEORIES OF EDUCATION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. Mohammed Abdul Mu'id Khan. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1944. pp. 418-433).

Examines Arabic sources and discusses methods, aims, subjects taught, together with a comparison of Ḥanafi and Shāfi'i ideas on the subject.

SOME CONTEMPORARY MOSLEM INTERPRETATIONS OF THE BIBLE. Charles S. Braden. (In the *Crozer Quarterly,* Chester, Pa. July, 1945. pp. 246-259).

Contains extracts from a number of books and articles by Ahmadiya Moslems with explanatory comments by Mr. Braden.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

A HOUSEWIFE'S LAMENT. Charlotte B. Kellien. (In *Neglected Arabia,* New York. October-November-December, 1944. pp. 8-11).

A picture of the daily difficulties of life in Basrah where prices have increased nearly 800% and black markets flourish.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN PALESTINE. (In the *International Labour Review,* Montreal. June, 1945. pp. 749-753).

Results of two fact-finding investigations as to wages and hours of clerical and industrial workers.

LA LÉGISLATION D'ORIGINE GOUVERNMENTALE. Hassan Rached Garrana. (In *L'Egypte Contemporaine,* Le Caire. Novembre-Décembre, 1944. pp. 493-660).

A study of public law in Egypt.

THE TENT BEAUTIFUL. Grace M. Crowfoot. (In the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London. January-April, 1945. pp. 34-46).

A well-illustrated article showing the skill and art of the Bedouin women in their home-making.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ARAB UPHEAVAL. Jamil M. Baroody. (In *Asia and the Americas,* New York. June, 1945. pp. 290-294).

Intense nationalism combined with an awakening social consciousness and economic awareness should make the Allies cautious in Near Eastern dealings.

The Empire and the Arab East. (In *The Round Table,* London. March, 1945. pp. 137-142).

Patience, resolution and imagination are more than ever needed to deal intelligently with the social and economic problems arising in the post-war world.

Fires That Flame behind the Arab Crisis. C. L. Sulzberger. (In *The New York Times Magazine,* New York. June 17, 1945. p. 9:45-46).

The spectacle of the Great Powers competing for control of the rich petroleum deposits of the Near East is causing an amazing display of Arab unity guided by ardent young political leaders.

Middle East Oil. (In *Life,* New York. June 11, 1945. pp. 25-37).

A survey, with many illustrations, of this power-giving section of the world where the "Big Four" are jockeying for position.

Palestine: An Economic Appraisal. Ben B. Seligman. (In the *Contemporary Jewish Record,* New York. June, 1945. pp. 301-307).

Summarizes an investigation made by Mr. Albert E. Kahn which predicts favorable chances for Palestine to survive in competition for world markets.

"Reconciliation in Palestine." Sir Wyndham Deedes. (In *The Hibbert Journal,* London. April, 1945. pp. 265-269).

Comments on Mr. E. B. Castle's article in the January, 1945, issue of the Hibbert Journal.

VII. INDIA

Baluchistan and the North West Frontier in War-Time. Sir Aubrey Metcalf. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1945. pp. 130-138).

Although Mr. Jinnah visited the district to stimulate interest in the Muslim League and Pakistan, no disturbances followed and the war years have been quiet ones.

Britain's Opportunity in India. (In *The Round Table,* London. March, 1945. pp. 122-129).

Argues that Britain ought to maintain the initiative in India until British responsibility for progressive political leadership is actually ended by the adoption of Indian self-government.

An Economic Approach to the Indian Problem. Sir William P. Barton. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. May, 1945. pp. 322-327).

Hindu-Moslem accord is a prerequisite to plans for either dominion status or self-government for India.

Hindu-Muslim Problem. Dr. Mahdi Husain. (In *The Calcutta Review,* Calcutta. October, 1944. pp. 19-21).

The author believes a sound basis for harmony can be found in education freed from communalism and in linguistic rapprochement.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

Between East and West. The Bishop in Iran. (In *World Dominion and The World Tomorrow,* London. May-June, 1945. pp. 135-138).

Bishop Thompson surveys the present state of the Christian church in Iran and finds the outlook encouraging in spite of the Government closing of the mission schools.

A Christian Hero. (In *World Dominion and The World Tomorrow,* London. May-June, 1945. p. 147).

A tribute to Dr. Cuthbert Nairn of the Southern Morocco Mission, stabbed to death on the way to his dispensary.

Co-operation and Friendship in Egypt. Adeeb Shammas. (In *World Dominion and The World Tomorrow,* London. May-June, 1945. pp. 181-182).

Reports fine relations among the various Protestant denominations and the Coptic church.

The War and the Hospital. Paul W. Harrison. (In *Neglected Arabia,* New York. October-November-December, 1944. pp. 3-6).

The Mason Memorial Hospital at Bahrain has been tremendously busy, the work accomplished good and many opportunities afforded for presenting Christ and His teachings.

Work among the Alouites. S. Paludan. (In *Under Syrian Skies,* Tunbridge Wells, England. April, 1945. pp. 139-141; July, 1945. pp. 151-152).

Stresses the need for a resident missionary and many more evangelists but finds the Christian seed is sprouting in various places.

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